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HISTORICAL RESEARCHES

INTO THE

POLITICS, INTERCOURSE, AND TRADE OF THE PRINCIPAL NATIONS OF ANTIQUITY.

BY A. H. L. HEEREN.

PART I. ASIATIC NATIONS:

CONTAINING THE PERSIANS, PHŒNICIANS, BABYLONIANS, SCYTHIANS, INDIANS, AND VARIOUS GEOGRAPHICAL AND PHILOLOGICAL APPENDIXES, SOME NEVER BEFORE PUBLISHED.

VOL. I.

HISTORICAL RESEARCHES

INTO THE

POLITICS, INTERCOURSE, AND TRADE OF THE PRINCIPAL NATIONS OF ANTIQUITY.

BY A. H. L. HEEREN,

KNIGHT OF THE NORTH STAR AND GUELPHIC ORDER; AULIC COUNSELLOR AND PROFESSOR OF HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF GOETTINGEN; AND MEMBER OF SEVERAL OTHER LEARNED SOCIETIES.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN.

VOL. I.

ASIATIC NATIONS. PERSIANS, PHŒNICIANS, BABYLONIANS.

LONDON:

HENRY G. BOHN, YORK STREET, COVENT GARDEN.

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JOHN CHILDS AND SON, BUNGAY.

TO THE READER.

As a publisher, I feel great satisfaction in placing these volumes, which complete the great work of Professor Heeren on the Politics, Trade, and Intercourse of the principal states of antiquity, in the hands of the English reader. I trust I shall at least deserve his thanks for opening to him a new and interesting source of instruction and pleasure; and that he will bestow the same indulgence upon the translation of this portion of the work, which he has shown to the volumes on the nations of Africa.

I am emboldened to claim this indulgence with somewhat more confidence in the present instance, as I have not personally so much to dread from censure. Of the two volumes just referred to, it is now very generally known that I am the translator, and I cannot but feel grateful for the gentleness with which their defects have been passed over. As the greater part of the present portion of the work has been done by two gentlemen in every respect much better qualified for the task, the same degree of forbearance, I trust, will not be required; praise could scarcely be more liberally bestowed. My own sense of the imperfection of the performance, naturally induces me to ascribe this to the value of the original work; still there is some satisfaction in having given such a version as should cause that to be readily appreciated, and with that I am content.

Of the volumes now presented to the public, part of the first, containing the Persians, has been translated by a gentleman eminently qualified for the undertaking, and who has spared no pains to give the sense of the German with accuracy. He has besides referred to almost all the original authorities, and from his attainments in classical literature, I feel no doubt that the reader will find much of the spirit of Heeren's original work preserved in the English version. The same may be said of the

gentleman into whose hands the remainder of the work, containing the Babylonians, the Scythians, the Indians, and Appendixes, has fallen. But, in addition to his other attainments, an intimacy with the languages and learning of the East have peculiarly qualified him to do justice to this portion of the work, as will be apparent from the notes with which he has enriched it. For the portion of the work devoted to the Phœnicians, and the first chapter of the Babylonians, I have to solicit for myself the indulgence of the reader. I feel it proper to mention this, lest others should be censured for what I may have done amiss.

In this portion of his work Professor Heeren has thrown considerable light upon the commercial relations of the ancient Jews, as well as upon the writings of the prophets in general. Many of his views being based upon the conjectures and laborious researches of the learned Michaelis and Gesenius, two men who have attained the highest rank as biblical critics, it has been necessary to follow their translation and interpretations, which in many places differ from the generally received versions both of Germany and England. As, however, the Divine authority of the inspired writers is left wholly unimpaired, and no point of doctrine is at all involved in these investigations, they have been given as found in the German; and must be considered, in their true character, as illustrations of those highly interesting parts of sacred history which have reference to the life and manners of the early Asiatic nations.*

With regard to the present translation it remains to be added, that it has been made from the last and best edition of the original German, and from a copy supplied for that purpose by the author himself, who has likewise favoured the publisher with the following papers, never before published, expressly for this edition.

1. A paper on the Navigation of the Phœnicians and Carthaginians to Britain, and their Settlements on the Coast, forming Appendix VIII.

* It seems to me, from a casual glance at the interpretations and commentaries of Michaelis and Gesenius, that by a judicious selection from them, a highly interesting volume might be formed, full of instruction and novelty for the English biblical reader.

2. A paper read before the Royal Society at Goettingen, on the commerce of the city of Palmyra, forming Appendix IX.

3. A paper containing a brief sketch of the works connected with Sanscrit literature, which have appeared since the last German edition of these "Researches," together with a confirmed statement of the author's method of determining the several ages of Sanscrit classical compositions, forming Appendix X.

4. A paper on the ancient commerce of the island of Ceylon, forming Appendix XI.

Valuable as are the works of Professor Heeren, it is hoped that this additional matter, together with the pains which have been taken with the work in general, will enhance the merits of this translation to the English readers, and insure it that success which the publisher anticipates.

PREFACE

TO THE FOURTH EDITION.

If the practical direction, which in modern times has been given to knowledge and science, is a general advantage, it is more especially so in the study of antiquity. During a long period this was confined merely to ancient languages, or to such trifling investigations as degraded the pursuit. But the spirit of the age, which has reformed so much, has also prevailed here, and given a new direction to this branch of learning.

Besides *words, things* have been found worthy of attention; and it is only by an application to these that the study of antiquity has preserved and augmented its credit.

The present work, it is hoped, will further contribute to raise the character of this pursuit. The subjects on which it treats, as set forth in the title, are, "The Politics, Intercourse, and Trade of the States of Antiquity;" and as I can have no apprehensions respecting their lack of importance, I have only to hope that my labours may be found worthy of them.

It has not, however, been my design to write a history of the nations of the ancient world; for I have no desire to repeat what has already been, in some instances, very ably related by others. Neither have I attempted, as the title page might seem to suggest, a general history of politics and commerce; nor do I even in any way pledge myself to discuss all that relates to these interesting topics. The way has been too little travelled for any single man to enter fully upon it. A clearer light must also be first thrown on the natural history of the ancients, and more accurate information be collected respecting their wares and merchandise, than we yet possess.

My plan has no greater scope, if I except the general preliminary views, than the delineation of particular nations, principally with reference to the two express objects which I have already men-

tioned. But the choice of these nations,—as I have limited myself to no quarter of the world, to no particular climate, but selected such as appeared most remarkable for their government, or trade, or both,—not only extends our horizon to the most distant boundaries of history and geography, but affords such a variety of objects, as must necessarily give a high degree of interest to these researches.

All here, however, depends upon the principles according to which, and the spirit in which, these delineations are drawn. Pure love of truth, the first virtue of the historian, will not I trust be found wanting. In no part of my work have I any hypothesis to establish, any darling proposition to support, or any opponent to refute. Upon every occasion I have stated that which I have found, and stated it just as I have found it; the certain as certain, the probable as merely probable. To do this, however, a judicious selection and critical examination of the sources whence materials were to be drawn was necessary. I have, therefore, made it my first rule to take, not merely credible, but, as far as possible, contemporary writers for my authority; and have only made use of later writers, in cases where it appeared that their information was drawn from the times under consideration. The sources from which these drew I have always endeavoured to point out, and the citations have been subjected to an accurate revision. An unnecessary assemblage of quotations I have carefully avoided; still, I hold it to be the sacred duty of an historian to add them where required; for he by no means has a right to expect that the reader should believe him upon his mere word.

It was of course necessary that learning and research should form the foundation of my labour; but I have endeavoured to restrain them merely to the groundwork. It has already been a frequent subject of complaint, that our literature boasts but few historical works distinguished for more than simple research. But although my performance is not a history, in the strict sense of the word, yet it belongs to that class; and I trust that a series of pictures of nations, drawn with spirit and fidelity, will help to supply the deficiency complained of. It has then been my wish to write a work which might interest and instruct every reader not entirely uninformed, and especially the young admirers of histori-

cal science. To attain this end I have felt the essential importance of the greatest possible clearness and precision in the descriptions which I have given. I have therefore laboured hard to obtain this object; and have entirely sacrificed to it all those ornaments with which so many disfigure, while they seek to embellish history.

How far I may have attained my object it is not for me to determine; but I think I may fairly venture to refer to the favourable reception which this attempt has met with since its first appearance, both from the well-informed of Germany and of foreign countries, as a proof that I have not altogether failed. I may venture to do this so much the more, as I fortunately know sufficiently well that the good opinion entertained of my work has been formed by the well-informed and independent, and not by the Aristarchs of our literature. This approbation, together with the light which modern geographical discoveries have thrown upon these subjects, imparted to me as it has been by the noble liberality of a government, long known in Germany and Europe as the constant protector of every useful science, has encouraged me to use the greatest exertions to render my second edition, published in 1805, and again, the third in 1815, as complete as my abilities would allow. But it lies in the nature of these investigations that they never can be complete. Every advance made in the knowledge of countries and nations, and the sciences connected with and depending upon it, throws a new light upon them. And how great has been this advance during the ten years that has elapsed since the third edition! How many of the countries of Central Asia, Persia, and Judæa—how completely those of Northern Africa, Ægypt, Æthiopia, even as far as the distant Meroë—have been rescued from obscurity!

That I have lost no opportunity of improving this, the fourth edition, which forms the second half of my historical works, will be better seen from an inspection of it than from any assertions I can make. All that could be gathered respecting Asia, from the works of Kinneir, Ker Porter, Pottinger, Stamford Raffles, and others; as well as from the learned investigations of Rhode, Gesenius, and Brehmer, has been diligently made use of. Scarcely

a page will be found without addition and improvement; some chapters, as those upon Persepolis, Babylon, and so forth, have been wholly or in great part re-written. In some particulars in which I have become better informed, I have altered my text; in general, however, I have had the satisfaction to find, that progressive discovery has not contradicted my earlier views, but rather, frequently in a surprising manner, confirmed them. If, then, the reader, after consulting this edition, will take a retrospective glance at the state of our knowledge of antiquity thirty years ago, when these Researches first appeared, I may confidently expect from his impartial judgment the opinion that I have not written in vain.

According to the original plan of this work, the reasons for which are stated in the Introduction, it comprises the period previous to Alexander the Great, so that the principal nations of three quarters of the globe will be treated of in the same number of parts, each of two or three volumes.* A fourth, containing the Macedonian-Roman period, might very well be added to them, which would complete the whole of antiquity.

The Introduction placed at the beginning is confined entirely to general views of politics and commerce, and will give the reader some previous acquaintance with the ground which he has to wander over.† In the Asiatic Nations I have treated of the Persians, the Babylonians, the Phœnicians, and the Scythians; to these were first added in the third edition, the Indians. The investigations respecting the Persians present the picture of a vast despotic empire, such as Asia has in all times contained. It will, therefore, serve as an introduction to the greatest part of the history of this portion of the globe. The explanations which I have inserted respecting Persepolis would necessarily belong to my plan, from the monuments there being so very important in the study of Persian antiquity and government, even if they were not in themselves of the highest interest.

* These three parts are now all translated into English, and may be had complete.

† This Introduction will be found in some copies prefixed to the first volume of the African Nations.

The second volume, devoted to the Phœnicians, Babylonians, and Scythians, contains on the other hand, more especially a key to the earliest commerce and intercourse of the ancient world; and of the great highways through Asia, upon which it was carried on. All that I have to premise respecting the Indians, will be found in the preface to the volume devoted to that people.

The maps of Asia and Africa, which accompany the work, represent these two parts of the world in the time of Alexander; and possess some value from their having, for the first time, the great trading routes accurately marked upon them. I have only to add, that these maps have been constructed principally for the illustration of this work alone, according to which they must be judged.

I owe especial acknowledgments, and the public as well as myself, to my learned friends the Aulic councillor M. Tychsen, and M. Grotefend, formerly of Frankfort, and now director of the Gymnasium at Hanover, for the valuable information they have furnished me with; which will be found in the Appendixes, and which make no trifling addition to the worth and importance of this part of my work. To the extensive acquaintance of the first with the languages of the East, the reader is indebted for the interpretation of the Indian words adopted by ancient writers from the Persian; whereby an additional light has been thrown upon the ancient languages of Asia. But the kindness of M. Grotefend has led him to furnish the reader at my request with "an essay upon the arrow-headed character, with an attempt to decipher the inscriptions at Persepolis." To these there is now added a second upon "Pasargadæ and the tomb of Cyrus." These will enable the reader to form his own judgment upon these interesting discoveries. I have also added two plates containing the recent deciphering of the Zend alphabet, together with other apparatus for reading it, and the interpretation, as far as the discovery at present reaches.

There can be no greater enjoyment to the inquisitive spirit, than to find light where he has hitherto found nothing but darkness! More than once I have experienced this agreeable sensation in the progress of the present investigations. And I may

venture with the more confidence to deliver this new edition, probably the last that will pass from my hands, to the reader, because happily I can safely assert, that much which formerly I could present to him only in doubtful and obscure gloom, will now be seen in the full and clear light of day.

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ASIA
FLORENTE PERSARUM
IMPERIO
[The Names between brackets are the Modern Names]
EUROPA
SARMATAE
HEROD.
SCYTHIA
PONTUS EUXINUS
MARIS MEDITERRANEI PARS
ASIA MINOR
ARMENIA
MESOPOTAMIA
PALESTINA
ARABIA PETRAEA
ARABIA DESERTA
ARABIA FELIX (SEDAR)
AFRICAE PARS
AETHIOPIA
OCEANUS INDICUS
MEDIA MAGNA
PERSIS
CARMANIA
GEDROSIA
ARIA
PARTHIA
BACTRIANA
BUCHARIA MAJOR
BUCHARIA MINOR
(BADAKSHAN)
(BELUR Land)
TIBETUS PARVA
Seu INDIA BOREALIS Herodoti
TIBETUS MAGNA
PAROPAMISUS
INDIA INTRA GANGEM
INDIA EXTRA GANGEM
PENINSULA INDIAE CITERIOR
(TARTARIA MAGNA)
(SIBIRIAE PARS)
SERICA
DESERTUM ARENOSUM
MASSA-GETAE
MAS SAGETAE
(NEDJED)
(Omanum)
(BABAR)
(BENGAL)
Caspii
Pasiae
Daritae
Pantimeti
Paricanii
Candarii
Orthocorybantii
Aparytae
Sattagydae
Dadicae
Thamanaei
Myci
Utii
Sarangae
Chorasmii
Dahae
Derbices
Dragae
Arachosia
Agriaspae
Paricanii?
Ichthyophagi
Ichthyophagorum
Ora
Arabitae
Parsetaceni
Sagarii
Dragogi
Zarangaei
Candahar
Lahore
Multan
Calbere
Cabul
Bactra
Taurus M.
Caucasus M.
Imaus M.
Altai M.
Ural M.
Scythae Exsules
Agrippaei (v. Calmyccae)
Issedones
Jyrcae
Thyssagetae
Budini et Gelones
Melanchlaeni
Androphagi
Scythae Arotures
Scythae Nomades
Scythae Regii
Scythae Georgi
Alazones
Callipidae
Bytaei
Sindi
Tanais R.
Borysthenes R.
Ister R.
Thracia
Bithynia
Heraclea
Cappadocia
Cilicia
Cyprus
Tarsus
Issus
Antioch
Seleucia
Damascus
Palmyra
Tripolis
Berytus
Sidon
Tyrus
Ptolemais
Joppe
Ascalon
Gaza
Hierosolyma
Jericho
Samaria
Ammonitae
Moabitae
Midianitae
Desertum Petraea
Memphis
Heliopolis
Pelusium
Arsinoe
Alexandria
Nilus R.
Aegyptus
Mare Rubrum
Sinus Arabicus
Sinus Persicus
Mare Erythraeum
Mare Indicum
Ichthyophagorum
Hamozia
Gerrha
Tylos
Arabia
Persepolis
Pasargada
Susa
Babylon
Seleucia
Ctesiphon
Ecbatana
Zadracarta
Alexandria in Aria
Alexandria Arachosiae
Nisaea
Bactra
Jomos
Cabul
Candahar
Lahore
Multan
Delhi
Agra
Patala
Barygaza
Taprobana
Ceylon
Malabar
Coromandel
Ganges R.
Indus R.
Oxus R.
Jaxartes R.
Caspium Mare
Euxinus Pontus
Mare Mediterraneum
Mare Caspium
Mare Rubrum
Mare Indicum
Sinus Persicus
Sinus Arabicus
Sinus Gangeticus
Sinus Barygazenus
Sinus Cambaicus
Sinus Indicus
Mare Erythraeum
Mare Caspium
Mare Aralense
Lacus Maeotis
Lacus Asphaltites
Lacus Oxianus
Lacus Aralensis
Lacus Baikal
Lacus Zaisan
Lacus Dzungaricus
Lacus Issikul
Lacus Palus
Lacus Chinvan
Lacus Kuku Nor
Lacus Lop
Lacus Yamdok
Lacus Manasarowar
Lacus Rakas Tal
Lacus Tengri Nor
Lacus Kara Kul
Lacus Yarkand
Lacus Khotan
Lacus Lop Nor
Lacus Kuku Nor
Lacus Tengri Nor
Lacus Yamdok
Lacus Manasarowar
Lacus Rakas Tal
Lacus Kara Kul
Lacus Yarkand
Lacus Khotan
Lacus Lop Nor

ASIA.

Of the three divisions of the ancient world there is none which more attracts and rewards the attention of the philosophical historian, engaged in the investigation not of individual nations but of the human race, than Asia. It was on Asia that the first dawn of history broke; and during succeeding ages, when Africa was involved in almost total obscurity, from which Europe herself was slowly disengaged, there rested upon Asia a degree of light which, if it did not illuminate equally all the great events of which that continent was the theatre, served at least to illustrate their general course, and to furnish important data towards the history of the human species. The further we advance in such inquiries—the more that we compare the various traditions of different nations respecting their several origins and ancient history, and the better we are enabled to contrast the diversities of their external characters, the more do we find ourselves constantly directed to Asia as the central point—the more are we impressed with the conviction that in that great continent was the cradle of mankind, whatever may have been the influence of remote climates and favourable or unfavourable circumstances to ennoble or degrade the original stock. Even when we trace the progress of the arts and sciences, notwithstanding the pains which the nations of the West have bestowed in cultivating such pursuits, and conferring upon them, as it were, an impress of their own, we find ourselves uniformly recalled to the East as the place of their origin; and it is there that we discover the native seat, not only of our own religion, but of all other modes of belief which have become at any time predominant in the world.

Even in respect of her geographical position, Asia has

been favoured beyond either of the other portions of the old continent. Its territory begins in a degree of N. lat. beyond which the globe ceases to be habitable to men, and, filling the whole extent of the temperate zone, stretches her vast peninsulas alone far into the space between the tropics, and one of them, the easternmost, nearly to the equator. Her richest and most fruitful provinces occupy the degrees of latitude which, in the case of Europe, are lost in the Mediterranean; and it is only the extremities of her territory which suffer from an excess of heat or cold. Europe, on the other hand, appears on the map of the world only as a sort of appendage to the north-western portion of Asia; and Africa, whose widest extent lies beneath the equator, and whose regions are principally situated within the torrid zone, can boast very few parts which, in temperature of climate, can vie with the advantages possessed by the greater part of Asia.

The vast extent of this last continent, whose area is four times as large as that of Europe, and nearly a fourth greater than that of Africa, presents the noblest theatre for displaying, in their utmost perfection and greatest variety, the inanimate as well as the animated wonders of creation. Europe has no production which Asia has not; and most of those which she possesses in common with the latter are inferior, except as far as they may have been improved by the skill of Europeans. Africa indeed has some which belong to her peculiar position and climate; the race of negroes, for instance, is confined to that continent, as well as some plants and animals which flourish no where but under the equator: but however striking and foreign the appearance of nature may be in Africa to Europeans, it is nevertheless for the most part invariable; and the inhabitant of Caffraria might believe himself at home on the coasts of Barbary, where he would find nearly the same races of animals, the same vegetable productions, and the same climate. On the other hand, how vast a variety reigns in Asia! How different is the face of nature in the wide steppes of the Mongols—in the flowery vales of Cashmere, and the sultry flats of Bengal!—or again, in the perfumed groves of Ceylon, the snowy mountains of Siberia, and the shores of the Arctic Ocean!

But, independently of her geographical position, Asia possesses other marked advantages over Africa. The means of access from without, and of internal communication, are as difficult in the case of the latter, as they are easy and unencumbered in that of the former. The seas by which Asia is surrounded, form on every side, but especially on her southern coast, (the original seat of civilization,) vast gulfs, which stretch far into the interior, and terminate in the embouchures of mighty rivers; facilitating the safe exchange of articles of commerce.

The structure of the continent, and the equal distribution, throughout its extent, of considerable rivers, is probably a principal reason why the interior of Asia is not found to contain any deserts of sand of like magnitude with those which in Africa present such formidable impediments to commerce. An exception must be made in the case of Arabia; a peninsula which in its natural features, as well as in its position, appears almost to belong to the adjoining continent of Africa. It is true that Asia abounds in vast pathless steppes, but these are by no means beset with the same dangers which menace the traveller in the deserts of Africa. On the contrary, Central Asia contains only one waste to be compared for extent and desolation with those of the other continent, that of Cobi in Little Bucharia; which, however, only obstructs the way to the most remote country of the East, China Proper, of which it is the boundary to the west and the north; opposing no obstacle to the free intercourse of the other Asiatic nations.

To enable us to form an adequate notion of the natural features of the different parts of Asia, and the intercourse of its inhabitants, which is dependent on the former, it is necessary in the first place to become acquainted with the great mountain-ranges which stretch across this portion of the globe, and determine in a great measure the nature of the soil, and the modes of life of its occupants. Two of these vast chains of mountains extend across the continent from west to east, forming by their ramifications to the north and south, by which they are connected together, a species of gigantic network; or, as it were, the skeleton, on which the surface of the whole country is disposed, and to which it is attached. The first of these, which was probably in

a great measure unknown to the Greeks, extends through the southern part of Siberia, and, with many changes of appellation, is styled in general the Altaic range. Beginning just above the Caspian, it sends off a branch to the north, which, under the name of the Ural, stretches as far as the Arctic Ocean. It then, with a mean elevation of not more than six or seven thousand feet, traverses the southern part of Siberia, becoming wider as it approaches the east, till, not far from the Pacific Ocean, after having united to itself a considerable branch of the great southern range, it fills the whole territory of the Tungusians and the shores of Siberia. For an accurate account of this great chain of mountains we are indebted to the recent researches of some scientific Russian travellers, before whose expedition our information respecting it was very defective; and in the time of the ancients its very existence was almost unknown.[1] Much, however, still remains to be explored, particularly in the eastern portion of the chain.

The other great range of mountains, which, under the name of Taurus, in like manner stretches transversely through the whole of the continent from west to east, was much better known to the ancients. It commences in the peninsula of Asia Minor, of which it occupies the southern provinces, Pisidia, Licia, and Cilicia.[2] Thence it stretches, with a very considerable elevation, through Armenia, sending off a branch which, with a northerly direction, fills up the country between the Caspian and Euxine, and bestows upon it the appellation of Caucasia.[3] From Armenia the main branch extends through the countries to the south and south-east of the Caspian, through the northern part of Media, and the districts, once so celebrated, of Hyrcania, Parthia, and Bactriana, till it reaches the eastern boundaries of Great Bucharia, or the ancient Sogdiana. Here it divides into two principal branches, one of which takes a north-easterly, the other a south-easterly direction. Con-

[1] Desguignes, *Hist. des Huns*, tom. i. part ii. p. 111; Abulgazi-Khan, *Hist. Genealog. des Tartares*, p. 30; et ibi not.

[2] Arrian. *de Exped. Alex.* v. 5.

[3] The name of Caucasus was used by the ancient geographers properly to designate the mountains lying between the two seas above mentioned; but has been also improperly applied to other parts of the Tauric chain, particularly the mountains of northern India. Cf. Arrian. l. c.

jointly, they form, as it were, the shores of a huge sea of sand, mentioned by Herodotus under the general name of the Sandy Desert, but called in modern times the Desert of Cobi. The part which takes a northerly direction, a portion of the ancient Imaus, Belur-tag, or mountains of Cash-gar, forms the northern boundary of this huge waste, and passing through the countries of Eygur, Mongolia, and Sungaria, becomes united to the Altaic chain on the confines of Siberia. The south-eastern branch of the same range forms the boundary of Hindustan to the north, passes through Great and Little Thibet, and loses itself in Central China, on the borders of the Pacific. Its appellations vary with the countries through which it passes: the part which skirts Little Bucharia, bearing the name of the Mus-tag or Snowy-mountain, being another branch of the ancient Imaus; while the mountains of Cabul and Candahar, which form the boundaries of Hindustan, were comprehended by the ancients under the name of Paropamisus. Their easterly continuation, beginning from the lofty peak near Cabul, swell to the snowy heights of the Himalaya,[4] whose summit, as has been ascertained by the adventurous researches of the English, is elevated to the enormous height of twenty-five thousand feet above the level of the sea;[5] taking from the Cordilleras of South America the reputation they enjoyed as the highest mountains of the globe. From this point two ranges of hills descend southward, and terminate in the capes of Comorin and Malacca; forming as it were the spinal ridges on which hang the two great Indian peninsulas.

The courses of these great chains of mountains determine also those of the rivers which spring from their sides, and intersect in every direction this quarter of the globe. From the northern range, the Altaic and its dependencies, flow the mighty rivers of Siberia, surpassing in magnitude any of the old world; which following the inclination of Siberia towards the north, empty their waters into the Arctic Ocean. These are the Irtish, the Yenesci, and the still more considerable Lena: all unknown to the ancients, and for an acquaintance with which we are indebted to recent geogra-

[4] Elphinstone's *Account of Cabul*, p. 85.
[5] According to the measurements of Webb. *Asiat. Res.* vol. xi.

phers. The four great rivers, however, of Southern Asia, the Euphrates, the Tigris, the Indus, and the Ganges, were even then well known, rising in the range of Mount Taurus, and taking a southerly course till they lost themselves in the Indian and Persian Oceans. From the lofty ranges of Mustag and Imaus, which unite on the borders of Little Bucharia, the two great mountain-chains before described, spring, to the west, the Jihoon, or Oxus, and the Sirr, or Jaxartes, which take a westerly direction through Great Bucharia towards the Caspian, and lose themselves in the sea of Aral; though it is probable that both, or at all events the Oxus, may formerly have reached the greater of those two inland seas. On the eastern side of the same ridge rise the great rivers of China, the Hoang-ho and Yang-tse-Kiang, which severally traversing the northern and southern parts of that empire, fall into the Eastern Ocean. If to these we add the Volga, or Rha, (the latter of which names it has received from none but Ptolemy,[6]) we shall have enumerated all the chief rivers of Asia, or at least all that come within the compass of the present treatise. An acquaintance with these is of the highest importance, not only for the purposes of general geography, but especially for the object before us. They not only serve as the great landmarks of the political divisions of Asia, but also as the principal means of communication and commerce; and it was on their banks that the capitals of the East, the seats of civilization, of splendour, and luxury, were first established.

The mountain-ranges which we have described divide Asia into three parts, essentially distinct from each other with respect to climate and the properties of their soils; and presenting differences no less striking in the modes of life and manners of their inhabitants. The northernmost portion, known at present by the name of Siberia, and extending from the back of the Altaic ridge to the Arctic Ocean, will be seldom mentioned in the present treatise, having continued unknown to the ancients, with the exception of some loose traditionary legends, to be noticed in their proper place. More thinly-peopled regions, inhabited only by hunters and fishermen, offer indeed a curious field of ob-

[6] Probably the same with Araxes, an appellation applied to several rivers.

servation to the philosopher, showing how the human race can subsist in the neighbourhood of the very pole; where even the savage himself is compelled to acknowledge the inclemency of the climate, and to hope, as a recompence for his sufferings, an inexhaustible hunting-ground of reindeer beyond the grave.[7] The historian, however, will find in these desolate regions little worthy his remark, at least till the philologist shall have prepared the way for his researches, since the few traditions extant among these tribes, which their manners and exterior seem to confirm, tend to show that they are offshoots, at least in part, of the great original stocks of Central Asia, driven by wars, or other contingencies, into those remote countries, whose snowy fields were not likely to invite any voluntary settlers. Yet even these regions must not be altogether forgotten, as the sequel of the present inquiries will prove that they have been peopled from times of the most remote antiquity, and possibly more thickly inhabited at that period than at present.

On the other hand, the vast regions of Central Asia, which form the area enclosed between the Altaic and Tauric ranges, and partly filled up by those mountains, present a rich field of speculation to the antiquary and historian. These vast tracts of level steppes extend, under the names of Mongolia and Tartary,[8] from the Caspian to the Pacific. They embrace the abodes of the Mongol tribes, the Kalmucs, and Sungarians, and others apparently produced by a mixture of these; and are divided by several considerable streams, flowing, for the most part, towards the Caspian, but which do not sufficiently irrigate these immeasurable plains, as to make them capable of tillage. Besides, these districts are among the most elevated regions of the globe, and on that

[7] See Georgi *Beschreibung der Völker des Russischen Reichs*, p. 383. In the almost universal belief, among the Siberian tribes, of a kind of continuance after death, it is found, according to this writer, that it is precisely the inhabitants of the wildest and most savage regions that form the most pleasing pictures of a future state; while, therefore, others hold it to be sorrowful, and regard death on that account as a misfortune, these meet it with joy. Certainly a very interesting fact.

[8] The perpetual confusion between the names of Tartars and Mongols, (of which Desguignes is especially guilty,) has been the source of serious errors in the history of nations as well as in geography. The Mongols and Tartars are distinct races; the principal territory of the former lies to the north, that of the latter to the south of the Sirr-Darja, or Jaxartes of the ancients, the proper limit of the two races.

account, though lying between 40° and 50° N. lat., and consequently in the same parallel with Italy and the south of Germany, are far from enjoying the same degree of temperature with those countries. They do not, however, present many spots altogether arid and unproductive; but, on the contrary, are for the most part covered with herbage, which occasionally attains such a luxuriant growth as to equal the height of the cattle which feed there.[9]

This natural condition of the soil, added to another peculiarity, the almost total absence of woods or forests, has had great influence in determining the manner of life of the inhabitants of those regions. In their native country they could never occupy fixed abodes, nor apply themselves to the pursuits of agriculture; and while history presents many examples of nomad tribes having adopted the settled habits of the nations they subdued, it affords none of a similar change effected in their native country; where, on the contrary, they appear destined to lead the wandering life of shepherds and herdsmen. These vast and level plains are accordingly studded, instead of with cities and houses, with tents and encampments, the ordinary abodes of these migratory tribes, often surrounded for leagues by their innumerable flocks and herds of sheep and cattle, of horses and camels, which constitute their riches, and supply all, or nearly all, their limited wants. The milk and flesh of their cows or their mares form their principal food; and they learned at an early period the art of extracting from the former an intoxicating drink.[10] The skins of the same animals, with the hair of their camels, furnish them with a coarse clothing for themselves, and with coverings for their tents; and the canes growing on the banks of their inland seas and rivers are readily fashioned into bows and arrows. The soil of their interminable territory is the common property of all; and they migrate without difficulty, accompanied by their numerous herds, from an exhausted to a fresh pasturage, or from a poorer to a richer district.

Their social relations have, as might be expected, been greatly influenced by these peculiarities of their situation. It is impossible that they should adopt those civil constitu-

[9] *Hist. Geneal. des Tartares*, p. 126, et ibi not.
[10] Pallas, *Gesch. der Mongol. Völk.* i. 133.

tions to which we have been accustomed from our youth, and which are the consequences of settled habitations, domestic tranquillity, and established possessions. The place of these was supplied by the natural bond of consanguinity; which became proportionably stronger than among Europeans, inasmuch as it embraced not only individual families but whole tribes and nations. Each race was subdivided into many tribes, which often swelled into mighty nations, which were split, according to circumstances, into a greater or lesser number of hordes, each comprehending a larger or smaller proportion of individual families. The heads of families and tribes take the place held by the civil magistrate in more polished nations, and exercise at the same time the offices of judges during peace, and leaders in war, with an authority which has often degenerated into unlimited despotism.[11] It also not unfrequently happens, that the chief of a tribe becomes by the preponderance of his power, or by free choice, the head of the whole nation, and ends in being a monarch, and perhaps a conqueror, like Cyrus, Attila, and Timur, spreading death and desolation over flourishing countries, and inundating more than one portion of the globe with his innumerable armies. The sequel of these treatises will show how important it is to a correct knowledge, not only of Asiatic history, but also of the human race at large, to possess clear views respecting the manners and institutions of the nomad tribes. It was among them that the greatest revolutions in the history of mankind, which not only determined the fate of Asia, but shook Europe and Africa to their centre, had their origin. It would almost appear to have been the design of Providence to continue these nations in a state more true to nature, and nearer by some degrees to their original condition, in order to renovate by their means (as history proves to have been often the case) the more civilized races of the world, which had prepared, by degeneracy and luxury, the way for their own destruction.

The third, or southern division of Asia, is partly filled up by the ramifications of Mount Taurus, before described, and partly lies to the southward of these, comprehending also the peninsula of Asia Minor, where that range of hills com-

[11] Pallas, i. 185.

mences. Beginning at 40° N. lat., this division extends in the form of a vast continent, as far south as the tropic of Cancer, beyond which the three great peninsulas of Arabia, Hindustan, and Malacca, extend far into the torrid zone. It comprises, therefore, the richest and most fruitful regions of the globe—Asia Minor, all the provinces of modern Persia, from the Tigris to the Indus, the northern part of Hindustan, as well as the two peninsulas on either side of the Ganges, and lastly Thibet, and the whole of China Proper. With the exception of a few arid tracts or mountainous regions, the whole of this vast extent of country has been blessed with the choicest gifts of nature; enjoying not only a temperate climate, but fertilized by a multitude of rivers of all sizes. The treasures of the vegetable kingdom are there found in the utmost profusion and variety; and the animal creation, whether quadrupeds, birds, or insects, there attain the highest perfection; the cotton-plant and the silk-worm are natives of the soil; the most precious spices and aromatics are peculiar to this region; and even those commodities which have acquired a fictitious value from the caprice or wants of mankind, gold, precious stones, and pearls, abound there.

It is no wonder that the inhabitants of such a region, surrounded by such natural advantages, should cease to be the same with those who wander over the wild steppes of Central Asia. Providence appears to have designed that they should here cease to lead a pastoral life, and to have pointed the way to a more dignified and cultivated mode of existence; and history proves how early and how constantly they availed themselves of the privilege. The earliest records of the human race ascribe to this region the first origin of tillage, of the cultivation of the vine, and the establishment of cities and political combinations. It is true that a considerable number of nomad tribes still continue to wander there, particularly where the pasturage is rich, as is the case between the Euphrates and Tigris; and the encampment of a pastoral horde may be often seen close beside the walls of a city. But these are either wanderers from Arabia or the northern parts of Central Asia, or mountain-tribes, possessing a country incapable of being reduced to tillage. On the other hand, it is a remark which the whole course of history tends to verify, that not only have the original inhabitants of

these countries adopted settled abodes, and the relations of social life, but that even the nomad tribes settled among them as sojourners, or as conquerors, have voluntarily exchanged their restless habits for those of a more tranquil and peaceful mode of existence. The parallel of 40° N. lat. accordingly forms, as it were, the invariable boundary of the agricultural and pastoral districts; though it is not necessary to remark, that this distinction must only be received as generally true, and that the transition from the one mode of life to the other is gradual. With this limitation the observation will be found to hold true in every period of Asiatic history. This parallel divides Caucasia from Armenia, Sogdiana, or Great Bucharia, from Bactriana or Balk, and China from Chinese Tartary. The countries to the north of 40° have at all times been principally the abode of wandering tribes of shepherds and herdsmen; and those to the south, of a settled population.

Multiplied and extensive as have been the revolutions of Central Asia, there reigns throughout the history of that continent a uniformity which is strongly contrasted with what we observe in Europe. Kingdoms and monarchies have arisen and decayed, and yet the same character has been constantly transmitted from the former to the succeeding dynasty, a peculiarity which the general tenor of Asiatic history will itself best explain.

The mighty empires which arose in Asia were not founded in the same manner with the kingdoms of Europe. They were generally erected by mighty conquering nations, and these, for the most part, nomad nations. This important consideration we must never lose sight of, when engaged in the study of their history and institutions.

We have already observed, that the whole of Northern and Central Asia is full of such wandering tribes; but in Southern Asia also, many portions of the Tauric range, and the whole of Arabia, (with the exception of its southern extremity, or Arabia Felix,) are occupied by people of the same habits; the dreary deserts of sand in the latter country being even less adapted for cultivation or fixed abodes than the steppes of Northern Asia.

The few observations which we have already made on these nations may convince us that they were formed to

become nations of conquerors. Their mode of life fits them to endure the hardships of war; their limited wants enable them to dispense with much of the baggage which encumber the marches of our regular armies; their countless herds afford an inexhaustible stock of horses for their cavalry, in which their principal strength has always consisted; for even in peace they are so continually moving about, that they are scarcely ever out of the saddle. These predatory habits are a sort of preparation for actual warfare, and inspire them, if not with the firm hardihood and cool courage of Europeans, yet with an audacity and impetuosity in attack, which spring from the habit of encountering danger, and the lust of spoil. The same fierce passions have called forth the locust-swarms of Mongols and Arabians from their steppes and deserts, and attracted from their mountains the Parthians and Persians, to sweep over and desolate the fruitful regions of Southern Asia. Having subdued the civilized nations established there, they extended their dominion as far as their predatory hordes could range, and became the founders of potent empires, exchanging without reluctance their sterile native country for more fortunate situations. An acquaintance, however, with the refinements and luxuries of the conquered kingdoms, and the influence of a milder climate, soon effected a remarkable change in the habits of these conquerors, and they adopted the manners of those whom they had vanquished, with the less difficulty, because a wandering herdsman is attached to no native spot, and knows no home. The consequence was a species of refinement, not of moral taste, but of mere sensual luxury; and the degree to which this was carried was proportionate to the fierceness of the desires by which it was prompted, and the suddenness of the transition from a savage state to one of ease and indulgence. In this manner the conquerors subdued themselves, and resigned their dominion, sooner or later, according to circumstances; while fresh tribes of conquerors, uncorrupted by success, sallied from their ancient haunts, or from other districts, to erect a new dynasty on the ruins of the former, and subsequently to undergo the same vicissitude of degeneracy and subjugation.

Such may be pronounced to be a summary of the whole

of Asiatic history, with the single exception of the Macedonian conquest; the only time when the Europeans have been masters of the interior of Asia. In this manner, of old, the monarchies of the Assyrians, the Chaldeans, the Persians, and the Parthians were founded, and fell; such, in the middle ages, was the history of the Arabian conquest; and such, up to the present day, has been that of the Tartarian and Mongol empires, which still subsist, though in ruins.

This review of the origin of the great Asiatic monarchies suggests of itself the following observations.

I. Instead of a progressive establishment and aggrandizement, these empires appear to have attained at once, or within a very short period, a gigantic stature. The cause is contained in the manner in which nomad tribes effect their conquests, and in which alone they can effect them, if destined to be durable. Extensive tracts of land are necessary for their very subsistence, and as long as they continue victorious, they have no inducement to set any bounds to their conquests. On the contrary, the plunder of one country is an inducement to seek that of another; and this love of pillage, combined with an utter ignorance of geography, has often inspired them with the notion of making themselves masters of all the world (a title they frequently arrogated); an imagination which, though never fulfilled in its full extent, they have so far achieved as to astonish historians. The Saracen dominion extended at one period from Morocco and Spain to Hindustan; and the Mongol armies, under the successors of Ginghis-Khan, fought at the same time in Silesia, and under the wall of China!

II. Nations of this character cannot readily give to their dominions a settled civil constitution. How can they give that which they do not possess themselves? It is much more consistent with the natural course of events that their form of government should be at the first purely military. The administration of the conquered provinces is committed to generals at the head of numerous armies, supported by the vanquished, either as garrisons in their cities, or as wandering hordes. The original office of such a governor was to collect, either arbitrarily or according to fixed proportions, the tribute or donatives imposed on the con-

quered; and for this purpose, to keep them in the most complete subjection. This arrangement frequently degenerates in a short time into another, by which the provinces are delivered over to their governors at the price of a certain yearly sum paid into the royal treasury, which the governor is at liberty to collect, as well as his own exorbitant interest, by any means he can. Consequently it is often the case, that the internal government of such provinces is left untouched; and even the conquered princes, or their successors, are sometimes allowed to retain their offices, unless removed on account of insubordination, or the personal hostility of their conquerors. Such was the custom of the Persians as well as the Mongols; but it would be a great error to attribute this to the clemency or leniency of the conquerors: it was much more the consequence of their ignorance and rudeness, which made them incapable of apprehending at once subjects foreign to all their former habits, and indisposed them to take the pains of learning.

III. At the same time it is natural that from this sort of military government should be gradually formed a civil administration; as the conquerors became by long intercourse with the conquered milder in their habits, and consequently more sensible of the advantages, and better acquainted with the forms of civil institutions; and exchanged by degrees their roving habits for a settled residence in cities. It is true that the genius of Timur, and a few other conquerors, may have so far anticipated the order of time, as to have conceived at once the idea of a more regular form of government; but, in general, it must be borne in mind, that the change was slow and gradual. Those military chiefs, whose authority was circumscribed by no law, as they gradually became better acquainted with civil affairs, took an increased interest in them, and from being mere leaders of armies, assumed the characters of satraps or viceroys; while the jealousy of oriental despotism often purposely placed the latter as spies upon the conduct of the former. In this manner the great Asiatic monarchies generally form a whole, which, uncemented by civil rights and relations, is held together only by the universal pressure of a superior; containing, however, in its subordinate parts,

the most heterogeneous constitutions. The most despotic empires have thus tolerated not only petty kings and princes with limited authority, but even republics, of which the Phœnician and Grecian states, subject to the king of Persia, are instances.

The above observations furnish an answer to a question which naturally suggests itself to the student of Asiatic history, and which is of the highest interest with reference to the general history of mankind, namely, how it came to pass that the system of absolute despotism, which has always characterized the Asiatic governments, should have been so constantly maintained, and, under every political revolution, uniformly renewed?

When the right of conquest and the power of the sword were the foundation of all authority, it necessarily followed that the administration, in its civil department, should bear a despotic character; especially when the unlimited sway of their patriarchal chiefs had already prepared the conquerors for such a system. Strange as it may appear, there were many nations among them, which, while they appeared to enjoy savage freedom, were subject to a rooted and rigid despotism; and among whom the head of the tribe was absolute lord of all his race.[12] This apparent contradiction is readily solved, when we recollect that the paternal authority is the foundation of the patriarchal; and that the former, among uncivilized nations, is at all times strong in exact proportion to their rudeness.

The gigantic extent also of these empires favoured the growth of despotism. That many nations should be subject to one is contrary to the course of nature, since it is obvious then that each people ought to administer its own affairs, although peculiar circumstances may prevail to break through this general rule. The disadvantages, however, of a contrary system, are apparent only when any great deviation has taken place from the natural course of things. A multitude of all nations and languages, differing in manners and religion, are incapable of being governed by the same laws; and the consequence is, that arbitrary power usurps their place. The method of governing by satraps becomes

[12] For instance, among the Mongols. Pallas, *Geschichte der Mongol. Völkerschaft.* vol. i. p. 185.

the only one by which these discordant elements can be ruled and kept together; and thus a system of despotism is established from one end of the empire to the other, and from the monarch to the lowest subject; the most potent despot not being sufficiently powerful to restrain his viceroys by the steady authority of law, though he may bow them beneath the yoke of force.

In the last place, the inseparable connexion, which we have had occasion to remark, between religion and legislation, must greatly embarrass, if not altogether obstruct, the development of a constitution. A new system of laws would have been equivalent to a change of religion; and even a partial modification of the former would have been looked upon as an innovation on the latter. The difficulties attending such innovations are obvious, but they must have been considerably increased when (as was often the case) not only the ceremonies of religion but those of the court were in the custody of a separate caste, whose interest it was to discourage any attempt to change.

These observations, however, are not sufficient to account for the most gloomy phenomenon in the history of the human race—the fact that the fairest and richest portion of the globe, where the mind of man might have been expected to attain its greatest maturity, has, in all ages, been condemned to perpetual slavery. . Admitting that the chains of the Asiatic nations were forged in their very infancy, and that the spirit of conquest only riveted them more firmly, still we may ask, how their strength came to be so impaired, that, in the periods of their greatest prosperity, they were unable to shake off a yoke which, to European nations, appears intolerable?

To answer this question we must go back a step, and seek the cause of the phenomenon in the defective constitution and condition, not of their civil institutions, but their domestic relations. For reasons, the discussion of which lies beyond the limits of the present researches, these are very different among the great nations of Central Asia from the manners of civilized Europe. Polygamy has at all times prevailed there; and polygamy, according to all the principles of our nature, has a tendency to promote unlimited despotism.

No one, who is aware how closely they are connected, can deny the influence which the better or worse condition of the domestic relations has on those of the society at large. The popular saying, that a republic to be permanent must be founded on virtue, appears to be only a consequence of the more general principle, that civil freedom is closely connected with morality; and that the one inevitably perishes with the other. Now there is no one custom more adverse to virtue in general, especially the domestic virtues, the chief sources of all true patriotism, than that of polygamy: by this many explain the phenomenon that no nation practising polygamy has ever attained to a true republican constitution, nor even that of a free monarchy.[13] Nay, it may be confidently asserted, that it would be unable to maintain a government of this kind even if presented with it.

Polygamy at once produces domestic tyranny, by making woman a slave and man a tyrant; and society at large thus becomes a combination, not of fathers of families, but of household tyrants, who by the practice of tyranny have been fitted to endure it. He who is tyrannical in authority will be abject in submission.

A plurality of wives also, as it diminishes conjugal tenderness, saps the foundations of parental attachment; and thereby impairs the interest which every member of the state should feel in its preservation and prosperity. The ideas of country and family, which among the Asiatics appear to have been always separated, if the first of them be not altogether wanting, have been ever closely associated in the minds of the nobler nations of Europe. Attachment to the one has always produced devotion to the other: the best father of a family has always proved the best citizen; and from this source has flowed, not only a respect for the authority of law and the magistrates, but that heroic courage and contempt of death which fired the rude inhabitant of ancient Germany, when fighting for his wife, his chil-

[13] That is, a nation in which polygamy is not only tolerated but established. Among the Greeks it was permitted, but never customary. I must content myself with merely indicating in this place, for the researches of others, another field of extensive interest, namely, the question how far polygamy and monogamy have influenced private law. If I am not mistaken, this might be made the foundation of an entirely new classification of legal enactments, which might lead to highly important conclusions.

dren, and his country, to rush upon the pikes of the Roman legions.

But the evil effects of polygamy have always been principally manifest in the higher classes, among whom the intrigues and jealousies of their wives are augmented in proportion to their number, and their common tyrant ends by becoming the slave of his wives and their eunuchs.

The government of a haram has always been the same, modified only by the casual influence of personal character; and we shall see in the course of the present inquiries, how minutely the interior of the courts of Susa and Persepolis corresponded with those of Ispahan and Constantinople, and how in every case the same causes were followed by the same consequences.

When a system of despotism was based on the general practice of polygamy, it is evident that the nations of the East could never hope to shake off the former, so long as their domestic relations continued unaltered. At the same time, they occasionally experienced the milder moments of despotism, whenever a prince of just and gentle character happened to ascend the throne.[14] The nature of their government, however, continued the same; and such as no single monarch, however excellent, could alter; because he must first have metamorphosed the entire nation, and rooted out ancient habits and manners, which it was out of his power to effect. If the above remarks appear to militate against the hypothesis of those who confidently expect a progressive improvement of the whole human race, they may at least confirm us in the agreeable assurance that Europe is secured by a more perfect state of morals from a despotism like those of the East. It is true that Europe has had her Neros; but not only was their tyranny of temporary duration, but the most tyrannical of her princes never dared to set all the forms of government at defiance. The characteristic feature of Asiatic despotism is this, that the monarch is taught to look upon his subjects, not as his people, but as his property, whom he is at liberty to dis-

[14] The present Shah of Persia undoubtedly belongs to this class of kings, and yet it is remarkable that the English ambassadors have never been able to make him comprehend the limited nature of the royal authority in Great Britain. MORIER'S *Travels*, vol. i. p. 215.

pose of according to his pleasure, except where religion may interpose some restraint. On the other hand, admitting that the tribunals of some of the most despotic rulers of modern Europe, (such, for example, as those of the Tudors and Stuarts,) as well as the revolutionary tribunals, (such as that of France,) were nothing more than legal *forms;* yet as such they were of some value, because they evinced the tacit acknowledgment on the part of the tyrant, that he was subject to the laws, instead of being elevated above them.

The same uniformity which we have already had occasion to remark in the constitutions of the Asiatic nations, is observable also in their commercial intercourse. Although travelling in Asia is less obstructed than in Africa, the character of internal commerce is much the same in both.

In Asia, as in Africa, it is scarcely possible for a traveller to journey in safety alone, and the consequence is, the formation of companies of merchants or caravans, such as we have already described. The length of the journey, extending frequently across desert steppes, and the lawless hordes which sometimes penetrate into more civilized districts and continually infest their borders, and whose rapacious dispositions can only be satisfied by forced and expensive contributions, make it necessary to travel in numbers sufficiently large to protect the travellers and their merchandise. The whole of Southern and Central Asia possesses, however, the invaluable gift of a beast of burden, without which these long and perilous journeys would be impracticable. The camel is found not only in the deserts of Arabia, but among the steppes of the Kirgees and Kalmucs, to the north of the Caspian.

The great rivers of Asia have, it is true, been also used as channels of commerce, but running principally through level tracts of pasture or steppes, their banks are unsupplied with wood fit for the purposes of ship-building; many districts also wanting iron; and these are probably the reasons why the river navigation of Asia has never attained a like importance with that of Europe.

The internal traffic of Asia has, in consequence, like that of Africa, been at all times principally carried on by land, and in the same manner. Still, as the general commerce

of Asia is vastly more considerable than that of the other continent, and the greater part of the countries engaged in it less uncivilized and inhospitable, we cannot be surprised at finding, that, in the former country, the arrangements for the convenience and furtherance of trade are much more numerous. Such are the public roads, and the caravanserais, or buildings for the reception of caravans. In great monarchies, erected like those of Asia by force of arms, the necessity for lines of military communication is soon sensibly felt, for the purpose of maintaining distant possessions, and insuring conquests already made, which can only be effected by keeping open the communications for the victorious armies. Accordingly, in the times of the Persians, no less than in those of the Mongols, we find that royal highways were established through the whole extent of conquered Asia; constructed with an amount of cost and labour which can only be commanded by despotic governments, having the power of concentrating on a single point all the energies and resources of their subjects.[15] It is true that such military highways are not to be always followed by the caravans, which naturally prefer short roads though more desert or difficult, but it is obvious that the internal commerce and communication of the empire at large must have been greatly facilitated by their establishment.

The institution of caravanserais may also be traced to times of remote antiquity; though it has been greatly promoted by the religion of Mohammed, which recommends the establishment of such edifices as a good work.[16] They are usually large quadrangular structures, enclosing an open court, on every side of which is disposed a single or double row of empty chambers, where the traveller is at liberty to take up his quarters for the night, being left to provide for his further accommodation as well as his food.[17] Even if the Asiatics had inns like those of Europe, these would not be sufficient to receive companies consisting of hundreds, nay, thousands, of travellers with their beasts of burden.

It was a necessary consequence of the fact, that the com-

[15] See Herod. v. 52, for a description of the royal roads of Persia; and compare Marco Polo's account of those of the Mongols, in Ramusio *Raccolta di Viaggi*, vol. ii. p. 30.

[16] Herodotus styles them καταλύσεις, loc. cit.

[17] *Voyages de Tavernier*, vol. i. p. 96.

merce of Asia was principally carried on by land, that it should be materially influenced by the political changes and revolutions which took place there. When new tribes of conquerors emerged from their deserts, and overthrew by their countless hordes an established empire, a revolution so complete could not but affect its commerce also. Nevertheless, it is a remark which the whole tenor of Asiatic history confirms, that, though often interrupted and modified, the commerce of the country was never entirely destroyed. On the contrary, it appears always to have resumed its original position with greater facility than could have been expected; nor are the causes difficult to discover. The victorious nation soon perceived the advantages to be derived from a continuance of the former state of things; the wants of the conquered soon became theirs also; the customs or presents extorted from the caravans which traversed their country enriched them or their chiefs; and it may be added, that a sort of taste for commerce and trade prevails even among the ruder tribes of Asia. Less injury was inflicted on commerce by these changes of dynasty and wars of victorious nations, than by the anarchy into which despotic governments are apt to be dissolved. On such occasions innumerable hordes of banditti are presently formed, which destroy all internal security — the restraint of a superior power having been removed. The anarchy and confusion which so long prevailed in the state of Persia, caused an almost absolute interruption of her commerce.

In this manner, with some partial modifications and occasional interruptions, the internal commerce of Asia continued on the whole the same, through all the mighty political revolutions which affected the interior, from the days of Cyrus and Nebuchadnezzar to those of Ginghis-Khan and Timur. As the more recent dynasties were built on the same foundations with their predecessors, so their commerce also retained the same general character. Its principal seats remained unchanged; and the countries in which these were situated were at all times adorned with rich and flourishing cities; which, after the most cruel devastation, rose unimpaired from their ashes. The wants of men, whether natural or fictitious, are too mighty and pressing to be lastingly affected, far less annihilated, even by war or despotism. One

event, however, has made a sensible epoch in the history of Asiatic commerce, and will, it is probable, always continue to influence it—the discovery of a passage to the East Indies round the Cape of Good Hope. It is true, as we have already had occasion to remark, and shall prove more at length hereafter, that even at a very ancient period there existed a communication by sea between the shores of Arabia and Hindustan; and it is well known that this intercourse subsisted, although with some vicissitudes, during the Macedonian and Roman periods, as well as the Arabian and Venetian. But, even at the period of its greatest prosperity, this traffic bore no proportion to the vast land commerce of Asia, through which by far the greater part of the productions of the East, consumed in Europe, was conveyed to this quarter of the world by the ports of the Euxine and Mediterranean Seas.

A total change ensued when the Europeans had discovered a way to the East Indies round Africa. Europe no longer received the commodities required through the accustomed channel of Central Asia, but obtained them direct from the southern coasts of that continent, (particularly those of Hindustan,) which from that time necessarily became the principal seats of commerce. In consequence, a large proportion of the internal commerce of the country became attracted to the situations frequented by the European fleets, which were thus rendered the marts for the productions required in the West. Nevertheless, the commerce of the interior continued to maintain itself, as long as the throne of the Persians and Mongols was occupied by princes who, with the love of conquest, possessed some relish for the arts of peace, and sufficient power to assure the safety of individuals within their empire. The iron despotism of the Turks, the anarchy of Persia, and the lawless inroads of the Afghans and Mahrattas on the north of Hindustan, first caused the almost utter ruin of the commerce of Central Asia, and converted into deserts the flourishing countries on the banks of the Euphrates and Indus; where the ruins of what were once royal cities are the only records of their former magnificence.

Of all the divisions of Asia, the Southern, containing the territory of Hindustan, is distinguished by the richness and

diversity of its productions. Here we not only find (with very few exceptions) all the products of other parts of civilized Asia, but so great a variety peculiar to its own climate, that it would appear as if a new and more beautiful creation had sprung up under the hand of nature. Nearly all the spices, which become necessary to mankind in exact proportion to the progress of luxury and refinement, have at all times been peculiar to this region; while two of the most important articles used in clothing, viz. cotton and silk, were first produced here, and continue to be so in an especial degree, though their cultivation has been gradually extended to other countries. These natural advantages have rendered this quarter the principal seat of Asiatic commerce; its productions have flowed from the east to the west in a continual stream; and notwithstanding some occasional deviations in its branches, the main current has never been dried up. The influence which an intercourse with India may have had on the civilization of mankind, is a question worthy the close attention of the philosophical student of history; and one which, notwithstanding the important illustrations it has of late received, has been by no means sufficiently elucidated. It is of the greatest consequence to ascertain the channels through which, at various periods, it found its way, or into which it was conducted; and the whole course of history tends to prove, that the countries which became the staples or the depôts of this commerce, uniformly attained a high degree of opulence and refinement; which, however, gradually changed the habits and corrupted the manners of their inhabitants; at the same time that these were softened, sowing among them the seeds of luxury, and consequently of decline and ruin. The result of this dispensation of Providence (by which the parts of the earth most remote with respect to Europe have been enriched with the most costly and highly valued, though not the most necessary productions) has been, the mutual intercourse and civilization of nations; which, if they had continued unconnected, would have remained still in their infancy, as must be the case with all isolated nations, even if by some strong instinctive effort they succeed in emerging from their original barbarism.

These general observations may enable us to follow with

confidence the light which they throw on the course of ancient commerce, as carried on through the interior of Asia, previous to the discovery of the passage by the Cape of Good Hope. We have already remarked, that the nature of caravan communication requires the establishment of certain staples, or marts for intermediate commerce, from which articles of trade may be forwarded to other countries. Without such resting-places, how was it possible for the laden camel to journey from the banks of the Ganges to the shores of the Mediterranean? Or how otherwise could the inhabitant of the interior receive his allotment of the productions of more fruitful countries to supply his necessities?

Staples of this kind appear to have been marked out, as it were, by the hand of Nature herself, and therefore remained the same, as long as Asiatic commerce continued to flourish. Of this kind were the countries between the Tigris and Euphrates, particularly Babylonia, as well as those upon the Oxus, Bactra and Samarcand; and, lastly, the shores of the Euxine and Mediterranean.

Babylonia was the emporium for the whole of Western Asia, and consequently for the nations of Europe and Asia Minor. We shall have occasion, in another place, to describe at length the admirable situation and peculiar advantages of this district. A considerable portion of the raw produce of India was manufactured here, to which were added the productions of Babylonia itself, the fertility of whose soil, in ancient times, almost surpasses belief.

The territories of Bactra and Maracanda, comprised under the modern appellation of Great Bucharia, are no less important in the history of ancient commerce. They were the depôts of the wares of Northern Asia, as well of those imported from China and Tangut, across the desert of Cobi, as of those brought through the mountains from Great Thibet, and those which were conveyed from India to the Caspian. These were the first resting-places for the caravans arriving from those various countries; and consequently these districts, and others lying under the same latitude, to the west of the Caspian, became the natural markets of the various tribes of Central and Northern Asia; which being more or less acquainted with the productions of the south, have at all times resorted hither to supply their

wants. We must not be surprised therefore at discovering on this frontier of the nomad districts, (an expression which may be explained by what we have already remarked,) a great extent of internal commerce, and a no less astonishing variety in its inhabitants.

Lastly, the sea coasts of the Mediterranean, particularly the countries of Phœnicia and Asia Minor, were the natural marts for all the oriental merchandise destined for the ports of Europe and Africa. The inhabitants, whether Greeks or Asiatics, were disposed by the situation of their country to a seafaring life; and their harbours became the places of exchange for the three quarters of the globe, where the silver of Spain, and the amber of Prussia, were bartered for the spices of Hindustan, and the frankincense of Arabia. Their territories consequently became the richest in the world; and, previous to the erection of the Persian monarchy, were adorned by a multitude of flourishing commercial cities, which formed an almost unbroken line from the straits of Byzantium to the confines of Egypt; presenting a picture of prosperity, only to be paralleled at the present day by the cities of North America.

If the above remarks may have the effect of throwing some light on the general course and character of Asiatic commerce, this will be increased by considering what were the principal objects of that traffic in ancient times, compared with the present. We too often find ourselves without the information necessary to follow the course of trade into the most remote regions; but when we meet with the mention of articles which are unquestionably peculiar to certain countries, we are warranted in concluding that a communication then existed with those countries, though we may be unable to define its nature and extent. A piece of sugar, or a morsel of pepper, in a neglected corner of a village inn, would be a certain proof of the trade with either Indies, even if we possessed no other evidence of the commerce of the Dutch and English with those countries.

Notwithstanding the multiplicities of the natural productions of Asia, I hope to be able to illustrate the principal articles of her commerce under the following heads.

I. Precious commodities, including gold and silver, as well as precious stones and pearls.

II. Articles used in clothing: wool, cotton, silk, and furs.

III. Spices and aromatics.

I. We cannot avoid being struck by the prodigious abundance in Central Asia of the precious metals, particularly gold, whether in ancient or modern times; and the proofs of this fact, under the dynasty of the ancient Persians, no less than that of Arabians and Mongols, are too authentic to leave room for any reasonable doubt. It has been the constant taste of the Asiatics to employ their gold, not so much in coinage, as in ornaments of every sort, and embroidery. The thrones of their princes, the furniture of their palaces, and especially all that belongs to the service of the royal table, from the time of Solomon to the present day, have been fashioned of massive gold; their weapons have been always thus decorated, and dresses, or carpets, embroidered with gold, have been at all times among the most valued commodities of the East.[18] This splendour was not a prerogative confined to the Persian monarchs alone, as if they had bought up the gold in every part of their dominions to dazzle the eyes of their subjects. The same practice prevailed through all the gradations of that system of despotism. The satraps were comparatively as wealthy as their master, and their inferior officers again in the like proportion.[19] We meet also with occasional instances of private individuals possessed of immense wealth;[20] and, according to Herodotus, even a pastoral nation of Eastern Asia had most of its utensils of gold.[21] We are naturally tempted to inquire where the mines were situated from which this mighty continent was so abundantly supplied with that precious metal?

Gold and silver, as far as we know, are exclusively the productions of mountainous regions, from which they are sometimes carried down by the torrents which rise there, and finally collected or washed from the sands in which they are deposited. Flat countries, however much they may be favoured by nature in other respects, produce no gold; of

[18] Compare the account of CHARDIN, ii. p. 370, with XENOPH. *Cyrop. Op.* p. 215. ed. LEUNCL. The descriptions given by both authors, of the riches and splendour of the Persian kings, so closely resemble each other, that they would seem to have proceeded from the pens of contemporaries.

[19] See HEROD. i. 192.

[20] Ibid. vii. 27.

[21] The Massagetæ, HEROD. i. 215.

which the rich alluvial tract of Bengal is an instance, though the contrary opinion has been entertained by many. On the other hand, if we follow the great mountain ranges of Asia, and compare the evidence they afford with the express testimony of antiquity, we shall be led to the following conclusions:

The mountains of Asia appear to become more abundant in this metal the nearer they approach the east. The western parts of the continent are sparingly endowed with it; while it appears to be accumulated in the eastern.

Asia Minor, it is true, contains the mountain of Tmolus, the gold of which is carried down by the streams of the Pactolus and Mæander; but we have no proof that mines were ever worked there. The produce, however, of the gold sand collected there by the process of washing, (and which appears to have mainly contributed to fill the treasury of the Lydian kings,[22]) seems to have been considerable; though small in comparison with the wealth of other Asiatic monarchies. The heights of Caucasus, between the Euxine and the Caspian, contain, it is true, a portion of the precious metals; but, as far as we know, more silver than gold.[23] The former was obtained there by mining, even in times of remote antiquity: the latter is not mentioned as having been found there; unless we choose (with some of the ancients) to explain, in this sense, the traditional expedition of Jason in search of the golden fleece.

The continuation of the chain of Taurus, through Armenia, Media, Hyrcania, and Persia Proper, as far as the borders of Bactriana, or Great Bucharia, although not altogether devoid of this metal, is by no means rich in it. At all events we have no evidence from history that mines were ever worked there with tolerable success.[24]

The first chain of Asiatic mountains abounding in gold, appears to commence on the eastern borders of Great Bucharia, where the range of Taurus divides into two branches, encompassing Little Bucharia and the desert of Cobi. The streams which, on their descent from these mountains, take a westerly direction, or, flowing to the east, lose themselves

[22] Herod. vi. 125. Cf. Strabo, p. 928.
[23] Strabo, p. 826. Müller, *Sammlung Russ. Geschichten*, ii. 14.
[24] Chardin, vol. ii. p. 28.

in the sands of the desert, all carry down gold; a proof that rich veins of that metal exist in the bosom of the mountains; accordingly these mountains, as well as the adjacent districts of Great Bucharia on one side, and the desert to the east, have, at all times, been renowned for their productiveness in gold; but especially, as we shall have occasion to show, during the dynasty of the Persians, the gold of this country was collected by their tributaries, the inhabitants of Northern India.[25]

The more easterly portions of the Tauric range also abound in gold, as we know to be the case with the mountains of Great Thibet, of China, Siam, Cochin-China, and Malacca.[26] The fact, however, is all that we know; these countries continuing to be for the most part very imperfectly explored by Europeans. During the Persian era they were altogether unknown; the geography of Herodotus terminating with the desert of Cobi and the adjacent mountains.

We must conclude, therefore, that the only territories of the southern half of Asia known to the ancients as abounding in gold, were Lydia, and the mountains which form the boundaries of Great and Little Bucharia; and with respect to the latter of these two districts, we have the express evidence of Herodotus, that the gold was not only collected by washing, but by the process of mining.[27] Yet it is evident that the produce of these gold countries, however considerable, (and the amount may in some degree be estimated by the tribute paid by the Indians,) bore no proportion to the quantity of gold then existing in Asia. Whence then were these treasures derived? Did they come from the south-easterly parts of the continent already referred to? Or were the mines of Siberia worked at that early period? Let us first examine this last supposition.

The discoveries of the Russians have proved that the range of hills which, under the name of Altai, divide Siberia from Great Tartary, are not without gold. In this case also we find a confirmation of the remark already made, that the eastern branch of these mountains, the high-

[25] Herod. iii. 102. Cf. Abulgazi, *Hist. des Tartares*, p. 388 *(et ibi not.)*: Müller, *Sammlung Russ. Geschichten*, iv. p. 183; Bruce, *Mémoire*, p. 123, *etc.*

[26] Rochon, *Voyage à Madagascar et aux Indes*, p. 297.

[27] Herod. iii. 106.

est and most extensive, is also the most abundant in gold. The Russian gold mines begin on the other side of the sea of Baikal, and are situated principally in the province of Nertchinsk, along the river Onon, which empties itself into the Amoor; being worked by the inhabitants of those districts, the Daourians and Tungusians.[28] The Tungusian country, which lies to the east, and is subject to China, contains a continuation of the same chain of mountains, and has at all times been celebrated for its productiveness in gold.[29]

We have already remarked that the Altaic range, with the adjacent regions, particularly towards the east, was, in ancient times, beyond the limits of certain and ascertained geographical knowledge. We must be content, therefore, with a probable instead of a positive reply as to the question whether these mines were anciently worked or not: some traces, however, of such operations appear as early as the dynasty of the Persians.

As the first proof, it may be observed that we find many of the nomad tribes of Northern Asia to have possessed an abundance of gold, such as the Massagetæ to the north-east of the Caspian, whose utensils were made of this metal; and still further to the north, the Arimaspians, of whom the fable was, that they obtained their gold by stealth from the griffins.

Secondly, Herodotus describes the north of Europe as being very rich in gold. "In the north of Europe" (he says) "there appears to be by far the greatest abundance of gold: where it is found I cannot say, except that the Arimaspians, a race of men having only one eye, are said to purloin it from the griffins. I do not, however, believe that there exists any race of men born with only one eye."[30] It

[28] See GEORGI, *Beschreibung aller Nationen des Russischen Reichs*, s. 204. By recent statements we have been furnished with the means of ascertaining the revenue of the Russian mines, in gold and silver. The former is estimated at 1600lbs. (40 poods), the latter at 50,000lbs. (1250 poods). See the tables of the classical work of M. VON HERMANN, *On the Importance of the Russian Mines*. As the revenue of these mines is not more than this, even at the present day, notwithstanding they are worked scientifically, both in the Uralian and Altaic chain, it is probable that anciently it was still less considerable.

[29] MÜLLER'S *Sammlung Russ. Geschichten*, ii. 200, *etc.*

[30] HEROD. iii. 116.

must be remembered that Herodotus considered the Euxine, the Caspian, and the river Phasis, as the boundaries of Europe and Asia, and consequently by the north of Europe, we must understand, in this place, the whole of what we denominate Siberia; the vast extent of which continued unknown to Herodotus, but concerning which he believed in general that it stretched eastward to the centre of Asia, and consequently exceeded in size that quarter of the globe. His expression, therefore, "the north of Europe," may be applied also to the north of Asia. If, however, we confine his meaning to Europe, properly so called, we must believe him to refer to the Carpathian mountains, which even at the present day exceed all the other mountainous parts of Europe in their productiveness of gold, and the Agathyrsi, a nation situated in their vicinity, are described by him as having abundance of this metal.[31] This last interpretation, however, appears to be contradicted by the fact, that Herodotus is contrasting the north with the west of Europe, and is, therefore, much more probably speaking of Asia, than of a part of Europe which, relatively to Greece, might be considered as lying to the north-west. It must be added, that another passage of the historian evidently fixes the country of the Arimaspians in the north-east of Asia.[32]

Thirdly, we know from recent authority, that in the Siberian mountains are found a multitude of ancient mines, where the operations of mining appear to have been carried on at a very remote period in the same manner as at present. These ancient mines, however, are now nothing more than mere excavations, like the Daourian mines in the province of Nertchinsk.[33] Supposing, however, that our hypothesis be correct, and that the mines of Siberia were worked at a very remote period, this fact proves nothing in favour of those who maintain that the north of Asia was anciently inhabited by a highly civilized people. On the contrary, it is easy to perceive that mining operations of the kind in question may have been carried on by a rude, and even by a nomad nation: no sort of scientific knowledge being required, nor any thing more than a few simple instruments, and a determined spirit of gain.

[31] Herod. iv. 104. [32] Ibid. iv. 27.
[33] Georgi, *Beschreibung, etc.* 204.

At all events, it is evident from the quantity of gold of which we have proofs under the dynasty of the Persians, that the intercourse which then subsisted with the gold countries (whether in Southern or Northern Asia, or in both) was much more considerable than the express testimony of history would lead us to conclude. If it should be thought that Asia, after all, was insufficient to produce so large a quantity of this metal, the observations which we shall have occasion to make on its commerce with the gold countries of Africa will tend to remove this difficulty. But when we consider the flourishing condition of the countries between the Ganges and the Indus during the Persian period; when we remember that Persia bordered on Hindustan, and that the communication between them was open and unimpeded; it becomes at least no improbable supposition, that the utmost regions of the East may even then have contributed their supplies of gold for the general commerce of the world.

Those who are acquainted with Asia must be still more surprised with the prodigious quantity of silver which existed there, as early as the times of the Persian monarchy. The tribute was collected in silver, except in the cases of the Ethiopians and Indians;[34] and silver used, though not so abundantly as gold, for purposes of decoration. At the same time, silver mines are of much rarer occurrence in Asia than those of gold, and the mountain district where this metal is found in the greatest abundance is the western portion of Caucasus, or the country of the Chalybes, which is celebrated on this account by the author of the Iliad:[35]

"From Alybe remote, whence comes the silver ore."

The inhabitants of this district have been at all times engaged in mining; and many ages afterwards, when the Genoese were masters of the Black Sea, they also opened some mines, of which the traces still continue.[36] Besides this

[34] HEROD. iii. 95. [35] HOMER, *Il.* ii. 856.

[36] MÜLLER'S *Sammlung Russ. Geschichten*, ii. 14. Also on the northern coast of Asia Minor, near the site of the ancient Amisus (Hodie Samsoon). See *Porter's Travels*, vol. ii. p. 696. Attempts have been made to work these mines afresh.

district, we know that Bactriana anciently possessed silver mines of very considerable depth.[37]

Silver is also found in the mines of Siberia, in China, or Southern Asia; but the large annual importations of this metal from Europe, made in consequence of the high price it bears in the East, sufficiently prove that it is found there in very small quantities. We may, therefore, conclude with certainty, that the greater portion of the silver possessed of old by the Asiatic nations was imported; nor can there be much question respecting the channel of its importation.

The richest land in silver then known was the south of Spain, at that time possessed by the Phœnicians. The latter derived no less an abundance of this metal from their Spanish colonies, than the Spaniards have done from their South American possessions; and by means of their traffic in the interior of Asia it was disseminated through all that continent. The extent of their land-traffic would therefore be sufficiently proved by the vast abundance of this precious metal in the Persian empire; even if there were no express testimony to the fact.

With respect to the less precious metals, it is sufficient in this place to remark, that the nomad tribes to the east of the Caspian possessed, even in the time of the Persians, the use of brass or iron, as is proved by the description Herodotus has given of their military accoutrements.[38] Does not this circumstance give countenance to the supposition, that even at that period the country between the Arctic mountains and the Altaic range was not altogether unexplored?

The taste for precious stones was no less universal in Asia than that for the precious metals; and may be traced, as appears by the decorations of the Jewish hierarchy, to a

[37] Ctesias, *Indica*, c. ii.; who asserts that they are deeper than those of India. Traces of such mines, of great depth, from which gold and silver ores had been extracted, are to be found in the mountain of Waisli-Kara, in the territory of Chiwa, near the river Oxus or Jihoon. See *Allg. Geogr. Ephem.* August, 1804, p. 447. Morier assures us that they are still worked, *Travels*, vol. i. p. 238. The same author informs us that the greater part of the silver met with in Persia comes from the mines of Bucharia and Aderbijan.

[38] Of the Massagetæ Herodotus relates, that they have no iron, but are acquainted with the use of brass, which is very abundant in their country. As for the other nations of this quarter of Asia, which formed part of the army of Xerxes, he mentions their pikes, swords, daggers, etc., but does not say of what metal they were made.

period anterior to the Persian monarchy. They were employed not only as ornaments, and to embellish furniture, but still more to be engraved as signets. This usage appears especially to have prevailed among the Babylonians; every one of whom, according to Herodotus, possessed an ornament of this description.[39] It is probable that the Medes and Persians borrowed this practice from the Babylonians; which they carried so far as to ornament the hilts of their poignards and cimeters, their armlets and chains, their cloths, and even the accoutrements of their horses, with precious stones.[40] We frequently find the sardine stone, the onyx, the sardonyx, the emerald, and the sapphire, to have been employed in this manner; but the labours of the learned have shown the extreme difficulty there is in ascertaining the true application of these terms.[41] Mineralogists admit that the sapphire can be no other than the lapis lazuli,[42] but the question is more difficult as respects the smaragdus, or emerald, which appears to be frequently confounded with a species of fluor-spar.[43] The name of sardine stone appears to be a generic one, comprehending all the finer species of hornstones or agates, of various colours, according to which they appear, in part at least, to have been classed. The red were denominated cornelians; the white, from resembling the colour of the nail, onyxes; and those compounded of both, sardonyxes.[44] To the same class belonged the chalcedony, etc.

The further discussion of such questions I must leave to mineralogists, and content myself with endeavouring to point out the quarters from which these precious minerals were derived. My observations respecting the Carthaginian commerce may have proved that a great proportion of them, particularly those denominated chalcedonies, were obtained

[39] Herod. i. 195.

[40] Arrian. vol. vi. 29.

[41] Considerable progress has, however, been made in this respect since the appearance of the first edition of this work, by the edition of *Marbodus de Gemmis*, by Beckmann. The researches of the Count von Veltheim, in his *vermischte Schriften*, and the controversy between MM. von Köhler and Brückmann, have brought the question to nearly as complete a settlement as appears possible.

[42] Beckmann, *Gesch. der Erfind.* iii. 182, sqq.

[43] Ibid. iii. 297, sqq. M. von Veltheim, *Ueber die Statue des Memnons, und Neros Smaragd.*

[44] Brückmann, *Ueber den Sarder, Onyx und Sardonyx*, p. 3.

from the interior of Africa, by means of the caravan-trade of that nation. It is no less certain that the emerald has been discovered in the mountains of Upper Egypt, and upon an island in the Arabian Gulf; and the finest description of emerald is called by the Persians, the Egyptian. At present we are only concerned with Asia, which also abounded in these precious stones; but, as we have had occasion to remark with respect to her gold mines, the eastern parts of the continent were more plentifully endowed with these treasures than the western.

According to Tavernier, who has been the first modern traveller to describe them with accuracy, diamond mines (properly so called) are first met with on the eastern coast of Hindustan, in the kingdom of Golconda.[45] The antiquity of these mines is very doubtful; and, as far as I know, diamonds, properly so called, are no where mentioned by the Grecian authors contemporary with the dynasty of the Per-

[45] TAVERNIER, vol. ii. p. 267, sqq. Tavernier mentions only three diamond mines; that at Raolconda near Visiapoor; that of Coloor, in Circars, at present forming part of the British dominion, about fifteen miles from Masulipatam, where about sixty thousand men, according to that traveller, were then employed (*Travels*, vol. ii. p. 278); and lastly, that at Sumelpoor or Guel, on the south-west boundary of Bengal. These are marked upon a map of Rennel, communicated to me by Blumenbach, together with the following: One at Gandicotta in the territory of Tippoo Saib, about one hundred and forty miles north-west of Madras, between Gooti and Cuddapah. Another at Beiragoor, seventy miles south of Sumelpoor or Sumbelpoor, also set down in Rennell's map; and a third, at the upper portion of the peninsula near a place called Pannah, about seventy miles south-west of Allahabad on the Ganges. We are indebted for the best information respecting the present state of the diamond mines of the peninsula to the lamented BENJ. HEYNE, in his *Tracts Historical and Statistical on India*, London, 1814; see treatise II. *Account of the Diamond Mines in India*. The author speaks only of the mines which he himself visited; in number four or five. The first lies in Circars, near the village of Mallevilly, sixteen miles in a direction W. S. W. from Ellora in Circars. This still belongs to the Nizam. Another near Cuddaza on the river Pannar, which has been worked for centuries. It is still worked, but appears almost exhausted. Then comes, at no great distance, the chain of hills of Gandicotta, where the mines are little more than deep pits, the operation of mining being very clumsily carried on, and more as a matter of chance than science. Respecting the mine of Pannah in Bengal, the best account is contained in WALTER HAMILTON'S *Description of Hindustan*, vol. ii. p. 325. The diamonds are there separated from the earth by the process of washing. Though this mine lies within the immediate possessions of the English, the right of obtaining the diamonds is conceded to the Rajah. This last mine is the most important to the student of antiquity, as proving that a diamond mine existed in the parts of India then known to the ancients. The district of Pannah belonged to the territory of the Prasii, the most powerful of all the Indian tribes, whose chief town Palibothra, near Patna, has been looked upon as the capital of all India.

sians; but among the inhabitants of Hindustan they were used from the most remote period, as I shall have an opportunity of showing in the portion of my work relative to that country. As for the other precious stones already enumerated; a passage among the fragments of a contemporary writer, Ctesias, throws considerable light on the question of their origin. "Ctesias," (says Photius in his *Excerpta*,) "in his description of India, speaks of the gigantic dogs of that country, as well as of the great mountain where the mines are situated from which the sardine, the onyx, and other precious stones, are procured, which are used as signet rings. They occur on the boundaries of the Great Desert, in which, at the distance of ten days' journey, is a temple of the Sun."[46]

It is probable that the mountains here meant are those on the confines of Little Bucharia.[47] Ctesias, as well as Herodotus, describes only the northern part of India, the part with which the Persians were acquainted, lying east of Bactriana; that is, the mountainous range of Mus-tag, or Imaus, which, as we have already remarked, was fruitful in gold. The observations of modern travellers have proved that these mountains abound also in other precious minerals, particularly the lapis lazuli, which is no where else found in such perfection. Of this we find evidence as early as the writings of Marco Polo, and the trade in this mineral, and its high price, have at all times attracted attention.[48] The missionary Goez, who travelled from India to China through Little Bucharia, in the year 1605, has given us still more ample information respecting the same. Precious stones, particularly the jasper and lapis lazuli, form the principal articles of commerce of this country,[49] and so profitable is

[46] Ctesias, *Indica*, cap. 5.

[47] On the other hand, the Count von Veltheim, in his Treatise On the Onyx-mountains of Ctesias, (*Sammlung vermischt. Schriften*, ii. p. 237,) endeavours to prove that by these are meant the Bala-Ghaut, not far from Berodh in the Deccan. In my observations on the commerce of the Babylonians, I shall have occasion to return to this subject. I do not mean to deny that onyxes may have been obtained from this quarter, but I do not believe it to be the mountain to which Ctesias must be understood to refer.

[48] Marco Polo, apud Ramus. ii. 10: compare Abulgazi-Khan, *Hist. des Tartares*, 388, 416, and Beckmann, l. c.

[49] *Allgemeine historie der Reisen zu Wasser und zu Lande*, B. vii. p. 544, 549. According to Goez this must be the celebrated stone *Yu* or *Yu-she*, (thus it ought to be written, instead of *Tu-she*, as is observed in a note,) of which, according to a recent author, (Hager, *Panthéon Chinois*, p. 82,) the *Vasa Murrhina* are made. But the name of *Yu* appears to be as indeter-

this trade as speedily to enrich those who prosecute it. We gain by this a proof, that as early as the Persian monarchy Little Bucharia was the seat of an active commerce; and the mention of a temple of the Sun in the midst of the desert of Cobi, (by which, agreeably to oriental usages, we must understand a caravanserai, erected under the protection of a neighbouring temple,) affords us perhaps the earliest indication of a trade with China.

Lastly, pearls have been at all times esteemed one of the most valued commodities of the East. Their modest splendour and simple beauty appear to have captivated the orientals, even more than the dazzling brilliancy of the diamond, and have made them (probably in consequence of some secret sympathy) at all times the favourite ornament of despotic princes. In the West, the passion for this elegant luxury was at its height about the period of the extinction of Roman freedom; and they were valued, in Rome and Alexandria, as highly as precious stones. In Asia this taste was of more ancient date, and may be traced to a period anterior to the Persian dynasty; nor has it ever declined. A string of pearls of the largest size, is an indispensable part of the decorations of an eastern despot: it was thus that Tippoo was adorned when he fell before the gates of his capital; and it is thus that the present ruler of the Persians is usually decorated. It is well known that at present pearls are fished up principally in the Persian Gulf, and along the shores of Ceylon, and of the peninsula of Hindustan; and these also appear to have been the quarters from which they were derived of old. Nearchus, the commander of Alexander's fleet, makes mention of a pearl-fishery off the islands in the Persian Gulf, observing, "that pearls were fished up here as well as in the Indian Ocean;"[50] by which last expression we must, beyond question, understand the strait between Taprobana or Ceylon, and the southernmost point of the mainland of India, Cape Comorin; whence Europeans, at present even, derive their principal supplies of these costly natural productions.

It is a much more difficult, but at the same time more

minate among the Chinese as that of several precious stones among ourselves. See *Mémoires concernant les Chinois*, vol. vi. p. 259: from which it is evident that stones of all colours were thus denominated by the Chinese.

[50] ARRIANI *Indica*, p. 194, ed. STEPH.

important point, to ascertain the various materials for clothing which were then known to the East; not that there is any lack of passages in ancient authors referring to this topic, but because the expressions employed are not so technically accurate as to enable us to determine with certainty the article meant. At the same time, some of the most important questions respecting Asiatic commerce depend upon our interpretation of these passages. Materials for clothing, either raw or manufactured, have at all times been one of the most important articles of exportation produced by the East, to which we are indebted for the most costly of these commodities. Besides cotton and silk, at one time peculiar to her, the East produces the finest wool, camels' hair, and that of the Angora goat, and hemp, at least equal to any known in Europe. The value of these materials has been at all times greatly enhanced by the beauty of the dyes, in which the East always surpassed the rest of the world; possessing a variety of the materials for dyeing such as no other region can boast.

The above subjects would require each of them a separate treatise to enable us to do them justice: in a general work like the present, nothing more than the general results of such inquiries can be looked for.

There is no doubt that the use of cotton, as early as the Persian monarchy, was not only known in Asia, but very extensively adopted; of which Herodotus himself furnishes proofs. He was aware that it came from India, where it formed the habitual dress of the inhabitants;[51] and mentions it in several parts of his work, as being worn by the Egyptians and Persians, as well as the Indians. The *sindones byssinæ* of the Persians,[52] were certainly cotton garments, as appears from a passage of Theophrastus presently to be cited; and Herodotus informs us that the Egyptians wrapped their mummies in cerements made of the same stuff;[53] which assertion is best illustrated by recent observations made on existing mummies, proving these cerements to be of cotton.[54]

[51] Herod. iii. 106. "The trees in their woods bear a species of wool, which for beauty and goodness surpasses that of the sheep. The Indians use this for clothing."

[52] Herod. vii. 181. [53] Herod. ii. 86. (*σινδόνος βυσσίνης τελαμῶσι.*)

[54] Blumenbach, *Observations on some Egyptian Mummies*, p. 12.

If we add, that Herodotus appears, particularly when describing the dress of the Egyptian priests,[55] to have used the term *linen* to express *cotton*, we may conclude that the use of dresses of this material was very generally adopted even beyond the confines of India. To these proofs must be added the decisive testimony of an excellent writer and naturalist, Theophrastus; belonging indeed to a later epoch, but contemporary with Aristotle and Alexander, and who probably derived his information from more direct sources, perhaps from the testimony of Nearchus.[56] He tells us, "That in the island of Tylos, situated in the Persian Gulf, are large plantations of the cotton tree, (*Gossypium arboreum*, Linn.,) from which are manufactured clothes called *sindones*, of very different degrees of value, some being costly, others less expensive. The use of these is not confined to India, but extends to Arabia" (meaning, it is probable, Babylonia, or Irak-Arabi). After these express testimonies, no further evidence appears necessary to prove the universal use of cotton at that period. It is true that Herodotus tells us that India was its native soil, but it appears to have been also cultivated in the islands of the Persian Gulf, in Arabia, and probably in Egypt; and that the manufacture of it formed a considerable branch of ancient commerce.[57]

It is much more difficult to determine whether the use of silk as an article of dress was then known to the East; and to what extent it prevailed. Neither Herodotus, nor any other writer contemporary with the Persian empire, mentions by name either the silk-worm or the stuffs manufactured from its thread. The term of *Serica*, the name of the Seres, afterwards so familiar, were then unknown, and Strabo is the first Grecian geographer, of those whose works have come down to us, by whom they are alluded to. Yet we are not without evidence which makes it highly probable that an extensive use of silks may have existed in Asia from a very remote period.

[55] Herod. ii. 37. The express testimony of other authors would prove that the dress of the Egyptian priests was not of linen but of cotton. Cf. Foster, *De Bysso*, p. 85.

[56] Theoph. *Hist. Plant.* iv. 9.

[57] An excellent account of the different species of cotton trees known to the ancients may be found in Foster, *De Bysso Antiquarum*, p. 38, sqq. Compare Beckmann's *Beiträge zur Waaren-kunde*, i.

If it were certain that the Hebrew words translated "silk" in the Old Testament, really had this signification, we should need no further proof of this fact. Who does not remember, from Luther's version, "the silken curtains of the temple, the silken cords of the tabernacle, and the silken garments of the men of Tyre?" But as the true rendering of the original in these cases cannot be determined with certainty, and as most interpreters deny the possibility of silk being meant, we are compelled to seek for other evidence. Let the following observation be premised.

It is incorrect to suppose that the silk-worm with which we are familiar is the only animal of the species whose labours are capable of being converted into an article of dress, and actually are so employed. Asia produces a variety of insects of the same class, and there is no doubt that the web of many of them was used, even in ancient times, as a material for clothing.[58] But when we consider that the descriptions of the insect in question are seldom scientifically exact, and incapable of being so, we may clearly perceive the difficulty of defining whether, by the term Bombyx, is meant the insect with which we are acquainted, or another. However interesting, therefore, this question may be to the naturalist, it is of less importance to the historian of ancient commerce, who may well be content with more general conclusions.

The first Grecian author who has made mention of the silk-worm, and described its metamorphosis, is Aristotle in his Natural History.[59] His account, however, does not tally with the silk-worm known in Europe, and it is probable that he had another species in view, though his commentators are by no means agreed on this point. He tells us that the web of this insect was wound off by women, and afterwards woven, and names a certain Pamphyle, of Cos, as the inventress of this art. Whence then was the raw material derived? The Grecian philosopher does not expressly inform us, but Pliny,[60] who has translated his words, and perhaps had a more accurate copy before him than we possess, speaks of Assyrian, that is, Asiatic silk, and interprets in

[58] Walter Hamilton, *Description of Hindustan*, p. 29, relates the same in his account of Bengal, in the present day.

[59] Aristot. *Hist. Nat.* v. 19. [60] Pliny, xi. c. 22, 23.

this manner the obscure expressions of Aristotle. "The Grecian women," he says, "unravel the silken stuffs imported from Asia, and then weave them anew; whence that fine tissue, of which frequent mention is made by the Roman poets under the name of *Coan vests*." A celebrated scholar understands this passage as implying that all the Asiatic garments, described as silken, were in fact only half composed of silk, and supposes that the Grecian women separated the two materials of which they consisted, and that, the cotton woof having been withdrawn, the texture was filled up with silk alone:[61] an interpretation which, though favoured by the passage of Pliny, is inconsistent with the expressions of Aristotle, as they have come down to us.[62]

However this may be, and whether the silk was derived from the insect with which we are acquainted, or another, it is certain that a trade with Asia in silk existed as early as the days of Aristotle; as stuffs of that material were to be found even in Greece, though perhaps in small quantities. As for the extent and magnitude of this commerce in the interior of Asia, it will be sufficiently illustrated by what I have occasion to say respecting certain dresses, which I consider to have been of silk, namely, those denominated *Median*. These dresses were not worn by the Medes alone, but adopted from them by the Persians, and again the custom was borrowed from them by several neighbouring nations, whose costume Herodotus has described. If we were only sure that these dresses, so often alluded to, were really of silk, the antiquity and extent of the Asiatic trade in that article would be at once manifest: and if we suppose that, instead of being entirely of silk, they were only half silk, (as is the case in many countries of the East,) still these particulars would remain equally certain.

On these points, however, we must not expect more than a certain degree of probability. In the absence of any express contemporaneous authority, we are left to conclude,

[61] Foster, *De Bysso Antiq.* p. 16.

[62] Salmasius (*ad Solinum*, p. 101) has shown that Pliny misunderstood Aristotle, and put a construction of his own upon his words. The Greek, "Τὰ *βομβύκια ἀναλύουσι αἱ γυναῖκες ἀναπηνιζομέναι, κἄπειτα ὑφαίνουσι*," means nothing more than, "females wind off the web of the silk-worm, and then weave the threads;" not, as Pliny would interpret it, "unravel the texture of the dress, and then weave it over again."

from a comparison of various circumstances, that the dresses in question were of silk. It is clear, from the testimony of contemporary authors, that these Medish dresses formed a peculiar description of clothing, distinguished above all other articles of dress with which the Greeks were acquainted, by the beauty, the variety, and, as it were, the play and splendour of their colours.[63] The use of them was confined to the rich and great, and accounted an article of luxury. A Medish robe and cimeter, a chain of gold, and a richly caparisoned horse, were the customary marks of distinction bestowed on their favourites by the kings of Persia; just as at present is the caftan, which also is always of silk.[64] It may also be observed, that the same dresses which were denominated by the Greeks *Median*, were styled by Roman poets *Assyrian*.[65] Now it is unquestionable, that by the latter were meant silken dresses, Assyria, like Media, being the term employed by writers imperfectly acquainted with its geography, to denote the whole of Central Asia, whence silken stuffs were derived; these writers neither knowing nor suspecting that they came from a distance so immense as Serica, properly so called, on the confines of China, or even from China itself. To these arguments must be added the express testimony of a credible, though more recent author. Procopius,[66] speaking of the introduction of silk into Europe, says, "From this web are manufactured the dresses which the Greeks denominated Median, and which are now called *Seric* (or silken)." To myself these proofs appear conclusive, but I leave the point for others to decide; abstaining in this, as in every other part of my work, from maintaining as a certainty what, after all, may be hypothetical. I hope to recur once more to this question.

The finest description of wool, manufactured principally in Babylonia and the Phœnician states, was the production of many parts of Asia. Herodotus[67] himself has given us a description of the Arabian sheep, distinguishing the two sorts of which the breed is composed, that with a long, and

[63] Zenoph. *Cyrop. Opp.* p. 213.

[64] Xenoph. *Anab.* i. p. 249. Compare the accurate description of the Persian *Khilat* in Morier, *Travels*, vol. ii. p. 93; and the immutability of Asiatic customs will very strikingly appear.

[65] See the quotations apud Foster, loc. cit.

[66] Procop. *Persic.* i. 18.

[67] Herod. iii. 113.

that with a broad tail. In the mountains also of Northern India, the district of Belur, or the vicinity of Cashmire, were found then, as at present, large flocks of sheep, which constituted the wealth of the inhabitants;[68] and no one acquainted with ancient history needs to be reminded of the rich fleeces of the sheep of Asia Minor, particularly those in the territory of Miletus. The Milesian wool was accounted by the Greeks the finest of all; probably because they confounded with the native fleeces of Miletus the wool of Arabia and Central Asia exported from that city.

There are also abundant proofs that another branch of trade, now of great importance, that of furs, not only existed in the times of which we are speaking, but had attained considerable importance. Supposing it to have been less important than it is at present, the cause was not so much from want of acquaintance with the fur countries, as that the temperate climates enjoyed by the then civilized nations of the world rendered this article of dress unnecessary. The Grecian colonies to the north of the Euxine formed, however, an exception to this rule. They drew supplies of peltry, the skins of the otter and beaver, from the very interior of Russia,[69] and possibly even from the shores of the Baltic, and easily disposed of them in the neighbouring country of Thrace, the inhabitants of which were principally clothed in furs. It may be observed, that the Amazons are also occasionally represented in sculpture as thus habited, or rather (which is observable) loosely arrayed in furs. The use of them would appear to be in general a matter of luxury as well as necessity, even in warm climates, as it continues to be at present among the Turks. In his account of the army of Xerxes, Herodotus enumerates several nations habited in the skins of animals, as, for instance, various tribes from the east and north-east of the Caspian Sea, and adjoining the Sea of Aral; such as the Caspii, the Utii, etc.; as well as the inhabitants of the rugged mountainous tract on the south-east boundary of Great Bucharia, the Pactyes of Belur-Land, and others.[70]

The third grand division of Asiatic merchandise is that of spices and aromatics. These commodities belong not to

[68] Ctesias, xiii. 22. [69] Herod. iv. 109. [70] Ibid. vii. 67 sqq.

Europe, and yet were used there in enormous quantities as early as the Persian dynasty. Not only among the Greeks, but in every other country not in a state of barbarism, it was the established opinion that no sacrifice could be offered without frankincense; and if we form to ourselves only a general idea of the vast quantities of this aromatic which must in consequence have been daily consumed on the altars of so many cities and nations, we may easily perceive that this commerce must have been one of the most extensive and most lucrative of ancient times.

Arabia, especially towards the south, was the native country of frankincense and the other most valuable aromatics; but the opposite coasts of Africa also abounded in the same. We are indebted to the father of history for an exact description of the different species of these productions, as well as for pointing out the channels through which they were conveyed to the states of the West. We shall find in the sequel that the great maritime cities of Phœnicia[71] were the principal points of exportation, but it is probable that a still larger quantity was conveyed across the Persian Gulf into the interior of Asia. The rites and sacrifices of the disciples of Zoroaster gave a prodigious stimulus to this traffic; and we have instances on record of an almost incredible expense incurred, on the occasion of solemn festivals or funerals, in the article of aromatics.

Of the spices used by the ancients, cinnamon was the most esteemed. At the present day it is found only in the East Indies, but it is difficult to say whether the same was the case anciently. Some very credible authors assert that it was then found in Arabia also: but a comparison of the evidence of others, particularly of the admirable Herodotus, makes it probable that it only passed through Arabia, in consequence of the commercial relations between India and that country, which we shall have occasion more fully to develop in the sequel.

The object of the present general observations has been to throw some light on the principal articles of the ancient commerce of Asia, preparatory to the more accurate inquiries which are to follow. In proportion as our ideas on

[71] See the section on the commerce of the Phœnicians.

the subject are apt to be too narrow, it is incumbent on the historian to extend them gradually; that conclusions which are, in fact, the results of careful investigation, may not assume the appearance of striking but unfounded assertions.

The great influence which diversity or similarity of language has on the mutual intercourse of nations, makes it necessary to advert to this subject with reference to the Persian period. This influence must have been greater of old than it is at present; no languages at that time being so universally disseminated as to form the media of communication abroad as well as at home; at a time also when the separation between different races was much more absolute and complete, and a stranger was not unfrequently at once looked upon and treated as an enemy. The data which the Grecian historians have supplied on this subject are, it is true, more scanty than might have been desired; but we cannot wonder at this when we consider the contemptuous manner in which the Greeks were accustomed to speak of the barbaric languages.

The topography (as it may be termed) of the different languages of Asia, must be viewed in connexion with the diversities of the natural character of the continent. In certain districts of no very large extent occurred a variety of languages completely dissimilar; and, on the other hand, extensive regions might be traversed throughout which the same language prevailed, with occasional variations in its dialects. The first was the case in nearly all the mountainous districts, where a number of independent tribes were established; and also on the sea-coasts, which were naturally the first places to be occupied by foreign settlers of various origin. On the other hand, the more widely-prevalent languages were disseminated through the vast plains which form the interior of Asia. Here also we may remark that the same great ranges of mountains or mighty streams which formed the boundaries of different kingdoms, became also the limits of different languages. One speech prevailed from the Ægean to the Halys; another from the Halys to the Tigris; and again, another from the Tigris to the Indus and the Oxus.[72]

[72] The proofs on which the following conclusions are grounded are to be found in my treatise, *De Linguarum Asiaticarum in Persarum Imperio Cog-*

In the interior of Asia Minor, as far as the Halys, the prevailing speech was the ancient Phrygian, which even in the time of the Greeks was looked upon as one of the oldest of known languages, the Phrygians themselves being considered one of the most ancient races of that part of the world. It appears, according to the best information we possess, to have been a branch of the Armenian, which, in the time of the Persian monarchy, it nearly resembled. Agreeably to the usual progress of population, it would appear that the Armenians descended from their mountains and spread over the subjacent plains of Asia Minor.[73] The coasts, however, of that peninsula were occupied by settlers of more recent origin. In the rich commercial cities, which lined the shores of Asia Minor, the Grecian language was as habitually spoken as English now is in the states of North America. The original speech of the country appears, however, to have been the Carian, and its dialects; the Lydians, Mysians, and inhabitants of Caria, properly so called, all speaking dialects of the same general language. The northern half of the peninsula was occupied by colonies of Thracians, who settled in Bithynia and carried with them their native language; their territory extending as far as the river Parthenius, which separated them from the Paphlagonians, who spoke a language of their own; if it were not rather a dialect of the Phrygian. A still greater variety of languages appears to have prevailed in the mountainous region on the south of the peninsula, in Pisidia, Pamphylia, and Cilicia: but with respect to these we possess no accurate information.

This perpetual change of language ceases as soon as we cross the river Halys and enter upon Cappadocia, comprehending the country afterwards called Pontus. On the eastern bank of this river began the empire of a mighty language, which was spoken from the Halys eastward as far as the Tigris, and from the heights of Caucasus to the

natione et Varietate, which appeared in vol. xii. of the *Comment. der Gött. Societ.*; an abstract of which may be found in my *Historical Works*, vol. iii. p. 327, sqq. I consider this the proper place to indicate several learned researches, of which I can only state the results in the present work.

[73] Herod. vii. 73. He makes, however, the Armenians a colony of the Phrygians, and represents the latter as one of the most ancient of nations, and as having migrated from Thrace.

southern coast of Arabia; and which, with some variations, preserves every where a distinctive and original character, being usually styled the Semitic. Its dialects were the Cappadocian, in the western countries on the banks of the Halys; the Syrian, between the Mediterranean and the Euphrates; and the Assyrian, on the farther side of the Tigris, in Kurdistan, or the ancient Adiabene; the Chaldæan, in Babylonia; the Hebrew and Samaritan, in Palestine; the Phœnician, in the maritime cities of Phœnicia and their extensive colonies; and lastly, the Arabic, extending not only over the whole of the Arabian peninsula, but also over the steppes of Mesopotamia, which have at all times been frequented by wandering hordes of Arabs. Several of these dialects still survive; with others we are acquainted only through their literary fragments; and it cannot be doubted that at some remote period, antecedent to the commencement of historical records, one mighty race possessed these vast plains, varying in character according to the nature of the country which they inhabited; in the deserts of Arabia pursuing a nomad life; in Syria applying themselves to agriculture, and taking up settled abodes; in Babylonia erecting the most magnificent cities of ancient times; and in Phœnicia opening the earliest ports, and constructing fleets which secured to them the commerce of the known world.

The boundary of these Semitic dialects was the Tigris, if we except another language of the same origin which appears to have prevailed in Assyria, properly so called. On the farther side of that river began the Persian dialects, so far differing from the Semitic, not only in their vocabulary and phraseology, but also in their elements and construction, that it is impossible to consider them as belonging to the same race. Notwithstanding the long-continued and various relations in which the Greeks stood to the Persians, the information they have preserved for us respecting these particulars is so scanty as to be of no essential service to the historian. We are indebted for more important information to the recovered Zendavesta, and the fortunate researches of Anquetil Duperron.[74] By means of these, we are made

[74] Compare (till chance shall have furnished us with a more complete vocabulary of the Zend, the Pehlvi, and the Parsi) the dissertations of KLEUKER, appended to the *Zendavesta*.

acquainted, not only with the names of several dialects of the ancient Persian, but also with some of their literary remains, and vocabularies; for instance, the Zend, or language of ancient Media, in which the books of Zoroaster were originally composed; the Pehlvi, spoken in the southern districts, bordering on Assyria and Babylonia; and the Parsi, or ancient Persian, which appears to have acquired extended influence under the dominion of the Persians, and to have swallowed up, as it were, the other dialects. A comparison of these various modes of speech proves them to have been distinguished by many shades of difference, yet displaying such a resemblance in their construction as well as their phraseology, as to show the dialects themselves, as well as the nations which used them, to have been derived from the same origin.

Herodotus himself has remarked a striking variety in the languages of the nomad tribes of Central and Northern Asia. The Grecian merchants who travelled from the commercial cities on the Black Sea, through what is now called the Kipchak, to the countries north of the Caspian, and so on to Great Bucharia, were obliged to take with them seven interpreters, having occasion to pass through as many nations speaking different languages.[75]

. Notwithstanding this diversity, it cannot be doubted that some languages were very widely disseminated over these mighty plains, when we consider the vast extension of certain races, the Scythian, for instance, and Sarmatian, which wandered in these regions, and retained, amidst all the variety of their dialects, a mode of speech which characterized and distinguished the whole race; especially when we reflect that the hordes belonging to each race undoubtedly descended from a common origin.

The greatest diversity appears to have prevailed, then as now, in the mountainous region of Caucasus. The great number of small and large tribes who inhabited these districts, to which they had been drawn partly by war, but more generally by the active commerce which prevailed there, brought with them a variety of dialects.[76] Strabo assures us that in the single city of Dioscurias, on the eastern borders of the Euxine, on occasion of the great

[75] Herod. iv. 24. [76] Herod. i. 203.

market held there, no less than seventy different dialects[77] might be heard. Xenophon confirms this statement by some particulars incidentally mentioned in his account of the Retreat of the Ten Thousand. In Armenia, he was still able to make himself understood by means of his Persian interpreter; but as he approached the shores of the Euxine he fell in with as many different dialects as there were tribes settled there.[78]

The Semitic and the Persian were, therefore, the principal languages of Asia; the latter being spoken as far as the Indus. Our knowledge of the languages prevalent on the other side of that river is, as yet, too defective to enable us to speak with any thing like certainty. Possibly it may be reserved for our own age to arrive at important conclusions on this subject, if the affinity between the Zend and the Sanscrit, the sacred languages of Persia and Hindustan, should be established — if the spirit of discovery which characterizes the British nation, should succeed in rescuing from oblivion some more remains of ancient Indian literature, and a second Anquetil Duperron present the public with the sacred books of the Brahmans, with the same success that his predecessor has illustrated those of the Parsees.

Another fact, suggested by the languages of Asia and the ancient dialects of Persia, is too important to be passed over in silence. Not only in the Persian territory, but in other parts of Eastern Asia, particularly the two Indian peninsulas, we find languages which still subsist, mixed up with others which are preserved to us only in a few written remains. To this class belong, in Persia, the Zend and Pehlvi, already mentioned; in Hindustan, the celebrated Sanscrit, as well as the Pali in the Burman peninsula. It is not, however, our present business to discuss the mutual relations of these languages, nor their degrees of affinity, but only their general characters and origin.

Languages can, of course, be formed and extended only by means of oral use, though their subsequent cultivation may be the effect of writing and literature. The dead languages also of Asia must, therefore, at one time have been spoken; even if this were not fully attested by the circumstance, that several living languages appear to have

[77] Strabo, p. 761. [78] Xenoph. *Anab.* iv. *Op.* p. 340.

been derived from them. Many reasons may be assigned why they ceased to be spoken. The modifications necessarily ingrafted on a widely-diffused language, communication with foreigners, and still more, subjugation to a foreign yoke, all these, and the like causes, may so corrupt a language, as to give birth to new dialects, capable of even a still higher degree of cultivation. To enable the old language in any degree to maintain its ground, it is necessary that it should derive support from the institutions of religion, which are usually preserved in the more ancient speech. Consequently it assumes in the eyes of the multitude a still higher character, as being a sacred language; and this is especially the case, when there exist in that language certain sacred books, on which the religion is founded. These frequently contain not only the doctrines but the prayers peculiar to that mode of worship, and thus prove the principal means of preserving from complete decay a language which has ceased to be spoken. When we consider that in some countries the priests formed a separate caste, we perceive the necessity these were under of making themselves acquainted with the language of their sacred records; such knowledge becoming among them a learned study. It is well known that this is true of the dead languages of Asia; and even when, as is apt to be the case, the great body of the priesthood shun the labour of learning, and content themselves with reciting formularies which they do not understand, yet the sacred writings are no less certainly preserved, and it can scarcely fail to happen, that some individuals at least will take the pains to become acquainted with their contents.

Strange as it may appear, we have narrowly escaped witnessing a renewal of the same phenomenon in the west of Europe; most of the living languages of which are evidently the offspring of the same deceased mother, the Latin. They sprang from the corruption of the parent stock, became independent, and were cultivated by means of the literature of the nations which spoke them. The Latin, however, still kept its ground, as the organ of public prayer; and even the Scriptures continued to be read in that language. None but ecclesiastics understood it, or rather professed to understand it, consequently it appears to have been on the point of becoming a sacred language, like those of

the East already mentioned. Two circumstances interfered to prevent this: the revival of classical literature in Italy, in the fourteenth century, and its extensive cultivation, so as to furnish a sort of universal language to all the upper classes; and secondly, the Reformation, which by encouraging the practice of preaching and translating the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue, gradually did away with the use of Latin among protestants, and, out of the church, among catholics also.

Our present object has been merely to notice this fact with regard to certain Asiatic languages. We shall have occasion to attend to them more in detail when we come to survey each nation individually.

Though we are indebted to modern discoveries for an acquaintance with the whole of Asia, yet a much larger portion than we are apt to suppose, was known to the Greeks as early as the dynasty of the Persians. They were acquainted with the whole extent of the Persian empire, from the Mediterranean Sea to the Indus, and as far as the desert bordering Little Bucharia. We find in Herodotus traces of a no less extensive knowledge of the plains of Central Asia, the steppes of the Mongols and Tartars, and of the hordes by which they were traversed, especially those in the vicinity of the Caspian. The northern and eastern parts of the continent alone continued to be involved in obscurity, illumined by some scattered rays of light, which afford grounds for hoping a more complete elucidation of the subject. Of the various tribes of Asia, those alone can attract our attention, which have been distinguished not merely as savage conquerors, but as civilized and commercial nations. The Persians, as the ruling people, justly deserve our first regard, and a knowledge of their empire and its institutions will afford a standard by which to measure those of the other great monarchies established in ancient or modern times in Asia. The Indians still continue in a sort of remote obscurity. The Phœnicians and Babylonians, as the great commercial and manufacturing nations of this part of the world, next demand our observation. Under the head of the Scythians, we shall endeavour to collect all the information we possess respecting the nomad tribes of Central Asia, and the caravan commerce carried on through their country.

PERSIANS.

PERSIANS.

The Persians have taken more pains than almost any other nation to preserve their records in writing; yet it has been their fate, in common with most other nations of antiquity, to be indebted for the stability of their fame to foreign historians. Notwithstanding the pains they took to register the acts of their government, the original documents of their history, with a few accidental exceptions,[1] have altogether perished; and the inscriptions of Persepolis, like the hieroglyphics of the Egyptians, will in a manner have outlived themselves, unless a complete key be discovered to the alphabet in which they are composed. The relations, however, of the Persians with foreign nations, procured them contemporary historians out of other countries, some of whom were at the pains and expense of making researches in Asia itself, in order to be adequately informed on every point. Some of these were Jews, others Greeks: of the former, the sacred annalists Ezra and Nehemiah,[2] with some of the later prophets: of the latter, Herodotus, Ctesias, Xenophon, and Arrian. The latter borrowed his materials almost word for word from the accounts of two of Alexander's generals, Aristobulus and Ptolemy Lagus,[3] and in this respect may be considered as entitled to the rank of a contemporary writer and eye-witness of the downfal of the Persian monarchy. The value of this history is enhanced

[1] See the edicts of the Persian kings, in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah.

[2] To these must be added the book of Esther, which contains a true picture of the manners of the Persian court.

[3] That is, in his principal work, *De Expeditione Alexandri Magni*. In his *Indica* he followed Nearchus, the commander of Alexander's fleet, the journal of whose voyage from the mouths of the Indus to the Euphrates he has given. The *Periplus Maris Erythræi* is the work of another Arrian; the composition (it is probable) of some merchant and traveller of the second century, and consequently inapplicable to the purposes of the present work.

by the critical judgment by which it is distinguished, making it one of the most valuable sources of information to the student in ancient Persian history. The celebrated account of the Retreat of the Ten Thousand, by Xenophon, is full of valuable details respecting the interior of the Persian empire, though the main design of the work was to record military events; nor is the Cyropædia less instructive: the only composition of the Greeks which breathes an oriental spirit! The Cyrus of Xenophon is a characteristic portrait, sketched after the imaginary features of a Jemsheed, a Gushtasp, and other heroes of the East, clothed in a romantic dress, which could only have been borrowed from that region. Though occasionally the Socratic philosopher and the Grecian commander may be at times too plainly discernible in the historian of Cyrus, yet his work continues to be a masterpiece, no less valuable to the historian, who is prepared to use it with judgment, than to the man of taste.

Ctesias lived as a physician at the court of Artaxerxes, the same prince against whom Xenophon was engaged in the army of his younger brother. His confidence gained him access even to the archives of the Persians, from which, with the assistance of some oral information, he gathered materials for his Persian History, in twenty-three books. Of this work we unfortunately possess only a few fragments,[4] together with some jejune extracts, for which we are indebted to the industry of the patriarch Photius. Had his work come down to us entire, Ctesias would have ranked with Herodotus, who at present holds the highest place.

Herodotus, it is true, visited Asia rather as an observant traveller than an historian; but his love of knowledge and unwearied curiosity—his sound judgment, his candour and simplicity, so conspicuous in every part of his work, (qualities which are the readiest and surest introductions a traveller can have,)—procured him access to the same authorities from which Ctesias derived his information. He has indeed no where expressly informed us that he drew his knowledge of Asiatic history from written records, but the attentive observer cannot fail to remark a multitude of particulars which could scarcely be derived from any other source.

[4] Usually annexed to the editions of Herodotus.

It is obvious that the credibility of these authors (except as far as they may speak from their own observation, or repeat the oral testimony of others) must be dependent on the character and value of such written documents. In what then did these consist? and what was the nature of the Persian archives, of which we often hear, without receiving any accurate account of their origin and character? Oriental history should of course commence with this question, the solution of which is indispensable to all critical examination of past events; and the historian is bound to take care that his readers should not, from European associations, receive impressions inapplicable to the state of things in Asia.

The Persians had not, as far as we know, any historical poet; far less any historian, properly so called; a want common to all the East. The sort of history they did possess was closely connected with their polity, and a fruit of their despotic government, and of the almost idolatrous respect in which their kings were held. Whatever their monarchs said or did was of course worthy of being recorded; and to this intent his person was usually surrounded by scribes or secretaries, whose office it was to register all his words and actions. They were in almost constant attendance on the sovereign, and especially when he appeared in public. They are repeatedly mentioned, on very dissimilar occasions, by Jewish as well as Grecian writers. They attended the monarch on occasion of festivals,[5] of public reviews,[6] and even in the midst of the tumult of battle,[7] and noted down the words which fell from him on such occasions. To them also was committed the task of reducing to writing the commands and ordinances of the king, which, according to the custom of the East, were recorded from the mouth of the monarch, and being sealed with his signet, were immediately despatched according to their destination.

This institution was not peculiar to the Persians, but prevailed among all the principal nations of Asia. The king's scribes are mentioned in the earliest records of the Mongol conquerors,[8] and it is well known that Hyder Ali

[5] Esther, iii. 12; viii. 9: cf. Ezra, vi. 1.
[6] Herod. vii. 100.
[7] Ibid. viii. 90.
[8] Abulfasi, *Hist. des Tartares*, p. 323. The present shah of Persia has

usually appeared in public surrounded by forty such secretaries.[9]

Such was the origin of the Chronicles, or Diaries of the Persians,[10] which being deposited in the principal cities of the empire, Susa, Babylon, and Ecbatana,[11] formed what were called the Archives of the kingdom. A history compiled from such materials would necessarily be a history of the court rather than of the empire, and the fragments of Ctesias serve to confirm this idea.[12] Many circumstances also, in the history of Herodotus, assume a new character when viewed with reference to this fact. We perceive how he was enabled to record so many conversations of the Persian kings, and even anecdotes of their private life; and we are enabled to assign a much greater degree of credibility to some of the most important facts of ancient history which he has preserved to us. Among these may be reckoned that celebrated catalogue of the army of Xerxes, with a description of the dress and arms of the different nations, and the names of their leaders. It is inconceivable that the historian of Halicarnassus should otherwise have been able to detail, forty years after, all these particulars with the exactness of a diplomatist. He himself makes mention of written records which the Persian king commanded his secretaries to draw up of the muster of his army,[13] of which (unless all historical probability be an illusion) he has preserved a copy.

But it may be objected: What use could Herodotus or Ctesias make of such records? Are we to suppose that they understood Persian? Why should they not? Ctesias, who lived so many years at the Persian court, certainly must; and the same is at least highly probable with respect to Herodotus, who translates Persian words, when he has occasion to cite them, and who was so great and curious a traveller.[14] Besides, the dignity and even the duties of the

his scribe or annalist, who is destined to write his history. MORIER, *Travels*, vol. i. p. 200.

[9] SPRENGL. *Hist. Taschenbuch für* 1786, p. 247, 248.

[10] Styled by Ctesias Διφθεραι Βασιλικαι; apparently they were written on leather or parchment.

[11] EZRA, vi. 1.

[12] Compare the account in ESTHER, vi. 1, 2; where the king commands the Chronicles to be brought, and the part relating to Mordecai is read.

[13] HEROD. vii. 100.

[14] Ibid. vi. 98.

Persian kings required that they should always have about them a number of scribes and interpreters, to translate their edicts into the various languages of their immense empire,[15] and consequently it is by no means improbable that documents of the kind referred to may have been composed in more languages than one. The amount of information which Ctesias and Herodotus may have derived from such sources as these must be left for the critical examination of other historians: it is clear from the very circumstances of the case, that they must also have availed themselves of oral traditions, even if they did not expressly declare it.

The multitude of contradictions occurring in ancient Persian history has been a frequent subject of complaint among the learned, but, as far as contemporary authorities are concerned, this discrepancy is rather apparent than real. Herodotus and Ctesias differ from one another only on minor points, respecting which it was difficult, from the nature of the case, to arrive at absolute certainty. On comparing the Grecian historians with the Jewish chroniclers, we do not indeed trace an agreement, but at the same time we discover no contradictions; a circumstance extremely natural, when we consider that the latter treated only of the relations in which the Persians stood to their own nation, concerning which the Greeks gave themselves no concern. A difference in the names or titles of certain kings has occasioned some perplexity; but this has been removed by the labours of the learned;[16] and is the less to be wondered at, because the names of these monarchs were only titles or surnames, of which Herodotus has given a translation.[17] As such they were liable to be changed, and to be variously expressed in different languages.

But when we turn from these contemporary historians to the records of the Persian chroniclers and poets of a later period, we discover not merely occasional contradictions, but, as it were, a completely different history. Among the latter was the historical poet Firdousee, who flourished under the Califate; and more recently, several chroniclers, such as Mirkhond and his son, called, to distinguish him

[15] Esther, iii. 12. [16] Eichhorn, *Repertorium*, B. xv.

[17] Herod. vi. 98. Darius signified the *mighty*: (Ἐρξιης) Xerxes, the *warlike*; Artaxerxes, the *great warrior*.

from his father, Khondemir; both belonging to the fourteenth century. They derived their information respecting the fortunes of their race partly from written records, partly from tradition, which, in the East, has been continued from the earliest ages to the present.[18] Such records are not without their importance, as acquainting us with the opinions entertained by existing nations, respecting the history of their forefathers, and placing it in the point of view in which it is contemplated by the Orientals: we cannot, however, admit them to possess any high degree of historical authority, when we reflect on the shortness of the time since they have appeared, and consider the extent to which every traditionary account must necessarily be distorted in a long succession of ages. They cannot therefore be put on a footing with the accounts of contemporary historians, and in the following inquiries, we shall place our dependence entirely on the latter.

[18] An account of Persian history as drawn from these sources may be found in the *Allg. Welthistorie, (Universal History,)* vol. iv. p. 318, sqq. The judgment passed in the text on these records applies of course only to the early periods of Persian history: as respects later stages of the same history, for instance, the reigns of the Sassanian princes, (of which Silvestre de Sacy, in his *Monumens de la Perse*, has presented us with a translation,) these records cannot be denied considerable historical importance.

PERSIANS.

CHAPTER I.

A Geographical and Statistical Survey of the Persian Empire, according to Satrapies.

The Persian empire owed its origin to one of those great political revolutions which are of such frequent occurrence in Asia, and the rise and progress of which we have already considered in general. A rude mountain tribe, of nomad habits, rushed with impetuous rapidity from its fastnesses, and overwhelmed all the nations of Southern Asia, (the Arabians excepted,) from the Mediterranean to the Indus and Jaxartes. Even the nearest parts of Europe and Africa were shaken by their onset, and to a certain extent subdued; and in spite of frequent insurrections which broke out in these and other portions of their empire, and were not always completely repressed, the Persians continued to maintain their general supremacy for a period of full two centuries.[1]

Their conquests were effected with the headlong rapidity which characterizes the wars of barbarous and nomad tribes. Their first great monarch, Cyrus, Cores, or Khoosroo, conquered all the provinces which formed the Asiatic part of the Persian empire; and although his early history is wrapped in the same obscurity in which the history of extraordinary men, who emerge unexpectedly from humble fortunes, is necessarily involved, yet sufficient is known respecting him to enable us to follow the general course of his achievements. There existed at that time in Asia three principal nations which had compelled the rest to pay them tribute: the Medes, nearly allied to the Persians; the Babylonians

[1] According to the best chronologies, Cyrus became the master of Asia 560 B. C., and Darius III. perished 330 B. C.

or Chaldæans (both in Central Asia); and the Lydians, in Asia Minor. The last, under their king Crœsus, had already pushed their conquests as far as the river Halys, (their territory up to that period having been extremely limited,) and were consequently possessed of the greater part of the peninsula of Asia Minor, a dominion pretty nearly equal in extent to the states of Germany.[2] The empires of the Medes and Babylonians were of older date, but both, like that of Persia, owed their origin to conquest. The Tigris bounded Media to the west, and had been fortified by the erection of a line of strong places, of which Mespila and Larissa have been mentioned by name;[3] at the same time that it appears from the lamentations of contemporary Jewish writers,[4] and from a passage in Herodotus,[5] that they occasionally advanced their conquering armies beyond the western boundaries of their empire, and penetrated even to the banks of the Halys. We cannot exactly define how far their dominion may have extended eastward: apparently it was of different extent at different epochs. From the books of the Zendavesta it would appear certain that they anciently possessed Aria and Bactriana, as far as the Oxus and Indus; but at the same time it seems certain, that independent kingdoms were subsequently erected in those provinces. One thing is clear, that a variety of nations were subject to them, for Herodotus tells us that the several states were ranked one above another according to their proximity to the seat of empire. "The Medes," he tells us,[6] "like the Persians, looked upon themselves as the first people in the world, and valued other nations in proportion as they were situated near them; esteeming those the least who are the most remote. Under their dominion the different nations were set over one another; the Medes being rulers over all, and in a particular manner over those who were situated next to them: these, again, had dominion over their neighbours, and the latter over those that came next in locality." At the same time we learn from other passages, that the government, like that of other Asiatic kingdoms, was one of

[2] Herod. i. 28.
[3] Xenophon, *Anab. Op.* pp. 308, 309.
[4] Isaiah, xiii. 17, 18.
[5] Herod. i. 103, where the Halys is named as the boundary of the Persian empire.
[6] Herod. i. 134.

satrapies, each foreign satrapy being intrusted to a Mede; and the system being probably nothing more than a classification of the different nations, each satrap receiving the tribute collected by his more remote neighbour, which was passed from one to the other, till it was handed over to the king's treasury, by the satrap stationed nearest to Media, properly so called. Previous to the empire of the Persians, the Medes were the more wealthy and more civilized race; the Magian being their established religion. They had become wealthy, not only by their conquests and the accumulation of a large tribute, but also in consequence of the position of the country, situated on the great commercial highways of Asia. Their government was completely despotic;[7] the courts of their kings being guarded by a rigid system of etiquette,[8] and distinguished by a taste for magnificence, which could only be gratified by such a system. The description of the Persian court, which was founded on that of the Medes, will illustrate this.

The Babylonians, to whom we shall devote a separate portion of this work, had attained a much higher degree of civilization. As the Median empire embraced almost all the provinces of the East from the Tigris to the Indus, so the dominion of the Babylonians extended over the portion of Asia westward of the Tigris, as far as the shores of Syria and Phœnicia. They were masters of this territory for nearly one hundred and twenty years; the interval between the foundation of their empire by Nebuchadnezzar and the conquest of Cyrus.

These three dynasties were all successively overthrown by the arms of Cyrus, their fate being determined by a single, or, at the most, by a second battle; the common fortune of despotic governments, which are held together solely by the force of the king's troops, and fall to pieces when these are vanquished. These nations, subject to an unlimited despotism, were unacquainted with that internal strength which a state may derive from the excellence of its constitution, the source of all true patriotism, and which renders its overthrow all but impossible in any equal contest.

[7] XENOPH. *Op.* p. 13. [8] HEROD. i. 99.

It could not be expected that a people so rude as the Persians then were, should have given to an empire of such vast extent, and composed of so many incongruous elements, a uniform and harmonious constitution. We shall have occasion to see in the sequel how they acquired the forms of administration they possessed; but in the mean time we must not suppose that even an accurate partition of the empire into provinces, according to fixed geographical limits, the first step toward such a political system, could have been the work of the first conquerors. Even if they had felt its necessity, they were far from possessing a sufficient knowledge of geography to enable them to execute the plan: they were, however, in fact, so far from feeling it, that, under the two first reigns, they do not appear to have even laid the groundwork of such an undertaking. The motive which eventually led to it appears to have been the only one which could well have occasioned it, namely, the necessity of providing for a regular collection of the tribute payable by each nation. Even with respect to the tribute itself, in the times of Cyrus and Cambyses, no established and well-defined system appears to have prevailed, but it was arbitrarily imposed, according to the circumstances of the times, under the names of offerings or presents, (after the custom of the East,) which were not unfrequently the more oppressive because indefinite. The institution of a regular system was first made in the reign of Darius Hystaspis, the greatest of the Persian kings, and at the same time the first attempt was made to divide the empire at large into provinces, or, to use the Persian word, satrapies.

An account of these has been preserved to us by Herodotus,[9] as taken from the Persian archives, and forms un-

[9] Herod. iii. 89—97. Others have already remarked that the Herodotean account of the satrapies is not applicable to subsequent ages of the monarchy. It is indeed generally alleged that the division recorded by Herodotus was a *financial* division, and distinct from the *territorial;* but this idea is unquestionably erroneous. No traces of any such distinction are observable in the whole course of Persian history: on the contrary, the sequel will show that it is contrary to the spirit of their institutions. The financial arrangements of the Persians kept pace with their territorial divisions, and as the latter, in the document referred to, appear extremely rude and imperfect, so the former could not have remained unaltered to the end.

Rennell, in his Geography of Herodotus, has given us an excellent map, accompanied by a learned commentary, on this part of his author, at the

questionably one of the most interesting remains of antiquity. A closer acquaintance with Persian history convinces us indeed that this first outline is inapplicable to the state of the empire in succeeding ages; and the document itself bears manifest traces of being a first essay; a circumstance which rather increases than diminishes the interest attaching to it. We are not to look in this document for a geographical division of the different provinces, but merely for a rude classification of the different subject nations, with a statement of the tribute imposed on each. Even these nations are not always enumerated according to their geographical position, but, for reasons which we cannot divine, remote tribes have, occasionally, as Herodotus himself remarks,[10] been classed together.

It is obvious, therefore, that the Herodotean catalogue of the satrapies can by no means be assumed as the groundwork of a geographical and statistical account of the empire. The historian ought rather to take his position at an epoch when those provincial divisions had become better defined and established; that is to say, about the latter half, or towards the conclusion of the Persian monarchy; and although we possess no enumeration of the satrapies as they existed at that period, such a catalogue may be easily compiled out of the works of contemporary authors, especially Xenophon and Arrian.[11]

The Persian empire at that time embraced the countries extending eastward as far as the Indus, in which direction Darius Hystaspis had pushed an expedition. The Indus,

same time that he treats the division into satrapies as purely departmental, that is to say, as if each satrapy were composed of adjacent districts. This is contrary to the intention of the author, who expressly asserts that sometimes adjoining and sometimes distant tribes were thrown into the same government (see HEROD. iii. 89). The latter appears, however, to have been the case in only two instances, and the utility of Rennell's map is consequently in no degree diminished.

[10] HEROD. iii. 89. We may also observe that the catalogue referred to comprehends the nations then conquered, or such as were looked upon as conquered. Several of these, protected by their mountains or their steppes, presently made themselves independent, and ceased to pay tribute; of which we shall find several instances in the sequel.

[11] In the book of ESTHER, i. 1, the number of provinces subject to the king of Persia is stated as 127. It does not, however, follow, that these were so many satrapies, because each satrapy commonly embraced several tribes or nations, as from chap. viii. verse 9, this would appear to be the case in the above enumeration.

however, formed at all times the eastern boundary of their dominion, and is mentioned as such by Jewish as well as Grecian authors.[12] We may be inclined to wonder that they never carried their conquests farther, in a country which has at all times especially attracted the cupidity of conquerors by its riches; but the Persians were too much occupied by wars in the West, especially with the Greeks, to have leisure to extend their dominion in the opposite direction, even if the warlike and populous tribes of the interior of India had not been able to oppose their progress. The Caspian and the Euxine, with the intervening range of Caucasus, (the lofty summits of which were never crossed by any Asiatic conqueror before Ginghis-Khan,) formed the natural boundaries of their empire to the north;[13] the nomad tribes which occupy the steppes of Astracan not being their tributaries. To the east of the Caspian, their territory was fenced against the incursions of the Mongul and Tartar hordes by the mighty streams of the Jaxartes and Oxus, and the country between these two rivers, Sogdiana or Great Bucharia, was their farthest province in that direction. To the south, their empire was bounded by the Indian Ocean and the Arabian peninsula, the deserts of which have defied the incursions of every conqueror; and, to the west, it rested on the Mediterranean.[14]

This vast empire was cut, as it were, in two by the Euphrates; a division which was recognised by the Persians themselves, who distinguished their provinces as they lay on this or the other side of that river. This natural division greatly facilitates the survey of the whole, and may be assumed with advantage in the present work. The western or nearest portion of the empire, accordingly comprehends the peninsula of Asia Minor, as well as Syria and Phœnicia; while the farther or eastern half, embraces the countries between the Tigris and Euphrates, with those which extend from the latter river to the Indus. We shall endeavour to illustrate these severally, according to their political demarcations.

[12] ESTHER, i. 1. HEROD. iv. 44. [13] HEROD. iii. 97.

[14] The extent to which certain islands of the Ægean, and the districts of Europe bordering on the Hellespont, were subject to Persia, depended on circumstances, and on the extremely variable relations in which the Persians stood to the Greeks.

COUNTRIES ON THIS SIDE OF THE EUPHRATES.

I. THE PENINSULA OF ASIA MINOR, OR NATOLIA.

THERE are few regions of the ancient world of greater historical importance than that part of Asia usually denominated Asia Minor. Its position rendered it the theatre of almost all the wars carried on between the nations of Europe and of Asia; and it was here that the fate of several mighty empires was decided. But this very circumstance rendered it at all times the prize of the conqueror; nor has it, since the overthrow of the Lydian empire by Cyrus, ever contained any native kingdom of tolerable extent and duration. It was, besides, possessed not by a single race, but by various tribes, some of them established there from time immemorial, while others had migrated from Europe, or the interior of Asia; differing no less in civilization than in origin. The luxurious Ionians and Lydians, whose effeminacy has become proverbial, lived in the immediate neighbourhood of the wild inhabitants of the Pontic provinces, some of whom still tenanted their aboriginal forests, while others lived a Scythian life in their wandering carts. Herodotus[1] mentions thirty distinct tribes, which in his time occupied the interior of this peninsula, and their number was increased rather than diminished in after ages. This diversity of origin would of itself have rendered it difficult for so many nations to combine in one independent state, even if the continual assaults from without, to which they were exposed, had not rendered such a union impossible.

The Persians were the masters of the whole territory, but their power was far from being the same throughout. A

[1] HEROD. iv. 38.

dominion established by force of arms may, at the first onset, make no distinction among the conquered; but differences will speedily arise as the power of the conquerors becomes modified by the local situation, the manner of life, or the political constitution of the conquered. The Persians soon discovered, to their cost, that free commercial states, like the Grecian cities of Asia Minor, are not to be subjected to a perpetual yoke, even when they may have been compelled to yield to the first pressure of necessity; and it was soon perceived that the numerous cavalry of the conquerors were much more able to scour the level parts of each district, than to maintain their authority among its mountainous retreats. Accordingly, we often find in the heart of the Persian empire tracts inhabited by free races of mountaineers, who retained their liberty, protected by their fastnesses, or by their poverty: while others, acknowledging the general supremacy of the Persians, yielded a very doubtful and imperfect obedience to their authority, which varied according to circumstances. However imposing may be the aspect of a despotic government, its internal strength is by no means proportionate; and anarchy is invariably its companion, or its follower.

Asia Minor, at that time, contained ten provinces or satrapies, resembling in extent the circles of the German empire.[2] Of these the richest and most cultivated were the three maritime districts to the west, Lydia, Mysia, and Caria; which, as well as Phrygia and Cappadocia in the interior, were subject to the Persians, a kind of exception being however made in favour of the Grecian cities within their limits. The authority of the Persian king was less absolute in the mountainous districts to the south, Lycia and Cilicia; as well as in the northern provinces of Bithynia, Paphlagonia, and Pontus, then styled Little Cappadocia.

[2] I shall refer to authorities under the head of each satrapy as it occurs. When I speak of these different countries as so many satrapies, the expression may require an explanation. It is true that all these different countries did not actually form so many satrapies, but they were destined to become such, even although they had attained a greater or less degree of independence. Darius originally divided Asia Minor into four satrapies, (RENNELL, vol. i. p. 307,) but in no part of the empire was it more likely that continual changes should occur, not only in consequence of the Grecian wars, but the remoteness of the capital.

The satrapy of Lydia was the richest in Asia Minor,[3] and was always accounted by the Persians the most considerable, because at the period of their conquest the Lydians were masters of that part of the continent. Sardes, the ancient capital of the Lydian kings, became the seat of the Persian satrap,[4] and the residence of the monarch, when he visited Asia Minor.[5] It was built in a plain upon the river Mæander, and would appear not to have been distinguished for magnificence, the houses being constructed of, or at least thatched with, reeds.[6] It possessed, however, a citadel, protected by a triple wall, and always occupied by a Persian garrison.[7]

The territory in which Sardes was situated abounded in all the sources of wealth, possessing a rare fertility, an extensive commerce, and even the auriferous mountain of Tmolus. The city was surrounded by spacious plains, renowned in the time of Strabo for their fertility,[8] and through which serpentined the Mæander and Cayster. Lydia was also formed to be one of the grand emporia for the exportation of Asiatic produce into Europe; and although the sea commerce was principally in the hands of the Greek cities of the coast, yet many passages of the ancients prove that a large portion of the land traffic, as might be expected, was carried on by the Lydians. Sardes itself is described as a great commercial city, resorted to not only by Greeks and Phrygians, but even by remote nomad tribes, for the exchange of their various commodities.[9] In particular this was a principal mart for slaves, and hence were derived eunuchs to protect the harems of the Persian grandees; this trade having been apparently carried on there on a large scale.[10]

[3] Lydia (with Ionia, the sea-coast) is mentioned as a satrapy by ARRIAN, i. 12; XENOPH. *Op.* p. 427, and elsewhere.

[4] HEROD. v. 100. XENOPH. *Anab. Op.* p. 245.

[5] XENOPH. ix. 108.

[6] HEROD. v. 101. These were all consumed by fire. The city is subsequently described as magnificent.

[7] ARRIAN, i. 7. The ruins of this citadel may still be traced, seated on an eminence, so steep as not to be approached without difficulty, and even danger. See the account of DR. SEETZEN, *Allg. Geogr. Ephem.* Feb. 1803.

[8] STRABO, p. 929.

[9] STEPHAN. *De Urbib.* v. Ασια. By Asia he undoubtedly means Sardes as there was a tribe there called the φυλὴ Ασιάς; and the Lydians prided themselves on having given a name to the whole continent.

[10] HEROD. viii. 105.

The Lydians have also been celebrated as the inventors of the art of coining money; an art not likely to have been discovered by any but a commercial nation.[11] They were the first also to provide places of public entertainment for the reception of foreigners; and even the custom prevalent among them, that their young women should obtain a marriage portion by the sacrifice of their modesty, proves that their city was the resort of a great number of wealthy strangers. The relations between the sexes are modified and deteriorated in places of great commercial resort; and this is especially true of the Asiatic towns. To attract strangers is the great object, and the manner in which they are allured sometimes takes a tincture from the prevailing depravity of the times.

The industry of this people appears to have been exercised chiefly in the manufacture of articles of luxury.[12] They were clothed in upper and under garments of purple, and were skilled in the workmanship of the precious metals, of which also they invented some new combinations. The temples of the Greeks were crowded with the presents from their kings; which appear, however, to have been generally wrought by Grecian artists. They also exported their unwrought gold into Greece, where it was purchased for the purpose of gilding the statues of the deities.[13] The implements used in various games of hazard, or otherwise, were their inventions, and either exported by them into Greece, or imported by the Grecians. Their commerce bore throughout a passive rather than an active character; nor did they, under the Persians, ever become a seafaring people; even the colonies which they are said, at a remote period, to have sent out to Etruria, having been conveyed in Grecian vessels.[14] Their gold was washed down from Mount Tmolus by the river Pactolus, which ran through their city, from the sands of which it was subsequently collected by washing;[15] there being no proof that they ever carried on the operation of mining. The treasury of their kings, like that of the Persians, was filled with heaps of this precious dust.[16]

[11] Herod. i. 94; where may be also found the authorities for what follows.
[12] Herod. i. 50, etc. [13] Ibid. i. 69. [14] Ibid. i. 94.
[15] Ibid. v. 101. [16] Ibid. vi. 125.

The sea-coast of this rich province was studded with Grecian colonies of Ionian origin, and on that account denominated Ionia; but in the catalogue of the Persian provinces was not distinguished from the rest of Lydia.[17] Twelve of these towns, the most celebrated of which were Phocæa, Ephesus, and Smyrna, formed, for the space of about ninety miles, an almost uninterrupted series of various establishments and edifices, and presented to the stranger, as he arrived by sea, an imposing spectacle of civilization and splendour.[18] They contested with the Phœnicians the advantage of possessing the grand exchange of Asia and Europe; their harbours were crowded by vessels from every port on the Mediterranean, and their fleets of merchantmen and men-of-war covered the Ægean. They had all experienced a great number of political revolutions, by which they had acquired, or maintained, their republican form of government; and the spirit of independence and love of freedom to which these circumstances gave birth, were so effectually stamped upon the national character, that all the force of the Persian empire, though it oppressed, was unable to efface them. They opposed an heroic resistance to the conquering Cyrus; and many of them, after an ineffectual resistance, preferred exile to slavery.[19] They revolted in the reign of Darius Hystaspis, and, aided by the Athenians, reduced Sardes to ashes. During the wars between the Greeks and Persians which followed, they sometimes were engaged, by compulsion, on the side of the latter, and sometimes fought against them; their condition with respect to their masters varying with the events of war. The European Greeks never lost sight of the idea of liberating their Asiatic brethren; and this was at all times a pretext for a war with Persia; and, as is apt to be the case with such pretexts, survived the motive which prompted it. The Persians, on the other hand, were at last convinced that free commercial cities could not be reduced to absolute servitude; and as the possession of these towns, which supplied them with the greater part of their navy, was indispensable, they adopted the middle course of bestowing upon them an appearance of freedom. They were not

[17] ARRIAN, i. 12. [18] HEROD. i. 142, etc. [19] Ibid. i. 169.

subjected to Persian satraps, but ruled by magistrates, who, as well as the commanders of the mercenaries which formed their garrisons, were chosen from a party favourable to the cause of Persia. The consequence was, the formation in some cities of an oligarchical constitution;[20] while in others the power gradually fell into the hands of a single man, who, in the Grecian phrase, was usually denominated a tyrant.

The chain of Greek colonies extended also along the coast of the satrapy of Caria,[21] which adjoined that of Lydia to the south. The northern portion of this province, like the preceding, was occupied by Ionians; but the southern coast, with the adjacent island of Rhodes, was colonized by people of Dorian origin, who conferred on all this region the appellation of *Doris*. Miletus, the queen of all the Grecian cities of Asia, was Ionian: the next to Tyre herself in commercial opulence, and the fruitful mother of a hundred colonies, many of which rivalled, and in the end surpassed their parent in riches and greatness. In the general revolt under Aristagoras, Miletus alone equipped a squadron of a hundred triremes; and fleets of equal size are mentioned on other occasions. Her extensive commerce was not confined to the Mediterranean, but sought to monopolize the navigation of the Euxine and sea of Azof: the shores of both were crowded with Milesian colonies: settlements originally made for the benefit of the mother city, but which, in consequence of their favourable situations, soon attained considerable consequence, enabling the merchants of Greece to penetrate into the interior of European and Asiatic Russia, and at a later period, if not then, forming a channel for the introduction of Indian merchandise into the ports of the West.[22]

The Doric colonies, of which Halicarnassus, the native town of the father of history, was the most considerable, did not come up to those of Ionia in the fertility of their

[20] Such appears to have been the case towards the close of the Persian empire. See ARRIAN, i. 17, 18.

[21] Caria is mentioned as a distinct satrapy by ARRIAN, i. 20; and elsewhere.

[22] See the excellent probationary Essay of Professor RAMBACH, *De Mileto ejusque Coloniis*. Would that more of our young scholars would in like manner select certain specific subjects belonging to ancient history and geography for illustration!

soil, or extent of their commerce;[23] they were, however, treated by the Persians on the same footing with the others.

The Carians, the original inhabitants of the country, were forced by these Grecian settlers farther back into the interior: they had at one time been a powerful and warlike nation, possessing the islands of the Ægean, pursuing maritime commerce, and practising piracy. They had voluntarily submitted to the power of the Persians;[24] and had been allowed to retain their native princes or kings, of whom mention is made in the muster of the army of Xerxes.[25] Their territory was, however, in the end, treated as a conquered province, and is described by later writers as forming a distinct satrapy.

The satrapy of Mysia,[26] or, as it was afterwards called, of Phrygia on the Hellespont, bordered on Lydia to the north. Even in ancient times it was difficult to define its limits, as it never composed a single state, but consisted of a collection of various tribes. Its shores were occupied by Greeks of Æolian origin, continuing the series of Grecian colonies as far as the Hellespont and Propontis, where Cyzicus, a colony of Miletus, eclipsed all the rest. The soil of Mysia surpassed even that of Ionia in fertility,[27] though the climate was not so good: agriculture appears to have been the principal pursuit of its old inhabitants, the Mysians,[28] who were probably of the same origin with the Lydians and Carians, and observed the same religious rites.[29] To the Persians, the possession of this territory was of peculiar importance, as commanding the passage from Asia to Europe; and the more so in proportion as they were led to attach a still higher value to their European possessions in consequence of their wars with Greece, and the apprehension they entertained of the inroads of Greeks or Macedonians.

We also learn from the testimony of Xenophon, that the

[23] HEROD. i. 142. [24] Ibid. i. 174.

[25] The king of Calynda, a Carian city, is there mentioned.

[26] Mysia is mentioned as a separate satrapy by ARRIAN, i. 12, and XENOPHON, *Hist. Græc. Op.* p. 482 and 486: in the first of which places Pharnabazus is styled the satrap of Æolis, and, in the second, of Phrygia on the Hellespont.

[27] HEROD. i. 149. [28] Ibid. i. 36. [29] Ibid. i. 171.

western portion of the adjacent province of Bithynia was attached to that of Mysia, whose satraps took up their habitual residence in the Bithynian town of Dascylium.[30] This fruitful country, thickly studded with villages and country towns, was subject to the Persians; but, as we shall have occasion to show, the relations between the conquered and their conquerors were by no means the same in its eastern division.

The interior of Asia Minor contained the two satrapies of Great Phrygia and Great Cappadocia, between which flowed the river Halys, the most considerable stream in the peninsula. Phrygia,[31] comprehending what was afterwards denominated Galatia, would have formed one of the most extensive provinces of the empire, had not the Persians, probably to prevent this, detached from it two of its limitary districts, and added them to the adjoining governments. These were, to the east, Lycaonia,[32] which they threw to Cappadocia, and, to the west, the territory of the Milyæ, which was considered as a part of Lycia.[33] The Phrygians were not only one of the most ancient and considerable nations of Asia Minor, but also at one period possessed extensive dominion, which appears to have embraced the greater part of the peninsula. They were long celebrated as an agricultural people,[34] and continued to maintain the same reputation under the dynasty of the Persians.[35] The nature of their country, consisting for the most part of a fertile plain, watered by several streams, favoured this mode of life; at the same time that they paid great attention to the keeping of live stock, especially sheep.[36] The sheep reared in the vicinity of Celænæ, one of their cities, were celebrated not only for the fineness of their fleeces, in which respect they rivalled those of Miletus, but for their peculiar blackness, which was so perfect as to be compared to that of the raven's wing.[37] It appears to have been a general

[30] Compare XENOPH. *Op.* p. 509.

[31] Phrygia is mentioned as a distinct satrapy by ARRIAN, i. 25; XENOPH. *Anab. Op.* p. 527, *et alibi.*

[32] XENOPH. loc. cit. [33] ARRIAN, i. 24.

[34] They are thus described in the early traditions of some of their kings, for instance, that of Lityersas. See *Bibl. der alten Litt. und Kunst,* st. vii. Ined. p. 9, etc.

[35] *Schol.* THEOCRIT. *ad Idyll.* x. 41.

[36] HEROD. loc. cit. [37] STRABO, p. 867.

property of the interior of Asia Minor, that, for some reason with which we are unacquainted, the cattle reared there had fleeces of a peculiarly soft and delicate texture. The goats and rabbits of the country being no less distinguished for this quality than the sheep; for it is in the territory of the ancient Phrygia that the Angora goat [38] and rabbit are found. The hair of the goat was woven into cloth in the time of the Persians, for we find in Aristotle the remark that the goats of this country were shorn like sheep elsewhere; [39] and garments made of the fur of the rabbit are mentioned by ancient authors of a later period.[40]

The capital of the satrapy was Celænæ, a rich and splendid city, situated on the great commercial highway leading from the interior of Asia to Ephesus and Miletus, and which from this very circumstance became one of the most considerable commercial marts of the interior. Merchants from this place resorted to Carura, situated on the borders of Caria, Phrygia, and Lydia, and celebrated for its spacious caravanserais.[41] Celænæ numbered among its inhabitants, at the time of the expedition of Xerxes, the richest private individual of all Asia: wealthy enough to offer that monarch, when he passed through the city, an enormous sum of ready money as a contribution towards the expenses of the expedition, considering himself abundantly rich in his landed possessions and slaves.[42] At Celænæ was the usual residence of the Persian satrap, which was adorned with a

[38] The modern Angora is the Ancyra of the ancients, situated in the north-eastern part of Phrygia, called afterwards Galatia. It must not be confounded with another Ancyra on the borders of Mysia, where the celebrated *Marmor Ancyranum* was found. The hills about Ancyra are at the present day covered with herds of thousands of these goats. PORTER, vol. ii. 720.

[39] ARIST. *Hist. Anim.* viii.; *Op.* i. p. 791.

[40] Consult on these points the learned dissertations of BECKMANN on the camel's hair, or his *Vorbereitung zur Waarenkunde*, B. i. p. 466, sqq. To the rich harvest there stored up, I take pleasure in adding a few gleanings respecting the early manufacture of the Angora fur, to be found in the *Expositio totius mundi* of an anonymous author, in the *Geographici Antiqui* of JAC. GRONOVIUS. The composition belongs to the first half of the fourth century; and the original appears to have been in Greek, of which we only possess a translation in barbarous Latin, not however without its value.

[41] Πανδοχεῖα. STRABO, p. 867. The Carura of Strabo is either the same with, or in the immediate vicinity of, the Cydrara of Herodotus, (vii. 30, 31,) where the road from the interior of Asia parted off to Caria and to Lydia, or to the cities of Miletus and Sardes, and where Crœsus fixed the limits of Caria and Phrygia.

[42] HEROD. vii. 27.

palace, probably erected by Xerxes, as well as with other establishments, and a park of such extent as not only to afford room for great hunts of wild animals, but to permit an army of twelve thousand men to encamp within its precincts.[43]

Other cities of the same satrapy were distinguished, under the Persians, for their importance and wealth, such as Colossæ, Sagalassus,[44] and others of inferior note; and Phrygia at large is described by Herodotus as one of the richest provinces of Asia Minor.

The district to the south-east, called Lycaonia, which, as we have already remarked, was attached to the satrapy of Cappadocia, was a steppe impregnated with salt, and containing a salt lake, named Tatta. Almost the only occupation of the inhabitants appears to have been the keeping of sheep, but, although numerous, these did not equal those of Celænæ in the fineness of their fleeces.[45]

Cappadocia, under the Persians, was the common designation of all the countries between the Halys and Euphrates; the former separating it from Phrygia and Paphlagonia, the latter from Armenia. It comprehended not only Cappadocia, properly so called, but all the districts afterwards known under the general name of Pontus. Writers contemporary with the Persians do not mark any subdivisions of this extensive territory, but Strabo speaks of two distinct satrapies as having existed in the time of the Persians, that of Great Cappadocia, and Cappadocia on the Pontus;[46] from which, in after times, proceeded the appellation of the kingdom of Pontus.

Supposing that such a division was in fact made by the Persians, it would appear to have been very imperfectly observed. The few records we possess of the history of the territory at that period, tend to show that, upon its conquest, a prince of the royal family, the Achæmenidæ, was placed upon the throne, on which his posterity were constantly maintained, with the title of kings. These were generally tributary to the Persians, but occasionally, when favoured by circumstances, asserted their independence; or were even put in possession of some of the adjacent satrapies, without its being possible to define with accuracy

[43] Xenoph. *Anab. Op.* p. 246.
[44] Herod. vii. 30; Xenoph. loc. cit.
[45] Strabo, p. 852, 853.
[46] Ibid. p. 808.

the limits of their territory.[47] At the time of the retreat of the ten thousand, both divisions of Cappadocia appear to have been subject to Mithridates, who, notwithstanding he took part in the revolt of Cyrus, was allowed to retain his dependent authority after the overthrow of that prince.[48] His son Ariobarzanes was created during his father's lifetime satrap of Phrygia, and after his death succeeded also to the hereditary possessions of his family.[49] His successors, the kings of Pontus, down to the celebrated Mithridates, continued to trace their descent from the ancient royal race of Persia, though many objections might have been started to such a genealogy.

Great Cappadocia, or Cappadocia Proper,[50] continued in all ages to be an indifferently cultivated district, with few natural advantages. Wheat was grown where the nature of the soil permitted; but the greater part of the province consisted of lofty downs, fit only for the pasturage of sheep; the climate also being raw and inclement. To these natural disadvantages was added an almost total want of wood, rendering the construction of buildings difficult and expensive. Consequently the greater part of the territory was destitute of towns; the inhabitants, though not migratory, living in open villages, and even their principal city, (as it was called,) Mazaca, resembling more an encampment of shepherds and herdsmen than a regular town. There existed, however, two cities in the more fruitful part of the country, Comana and Morimena, which are remarkable for having possessed, in common with some cities of Asia which we shall have occasion to mention, the traces of a hierarchical constitution.[51]

[47] The fragments illustrative of the history of the kings of Pontus and Cappadocia have been collected with great industry by VAILLANT, in his *Historia Achæmenidarum seu regum Ponti Bospori et Bithyniæ*. It is manifest from this work that the early history of these princes, during the Persian monarchy, can only be gathered by conjecture.

[48] XENOPH. *Anab. Op.* p. 427.

[49] DIOD. ii. p. 73. ed. WESSEL.

[50] Besides the places of Strabo already referred to, Cappadocia is mentioned by Xenophon as forming, with Lycaonia, a separate satrapy. XENOPH. *Op.* p. 427.

[51] I have taken the above particulars from STRABO, but they appear applicable to the state of the country under the Persians. Writers of that age frequently mention Cappadocia, but are so poor in facts respecting it, that it is easy to see they knew nothing about it. No nation of Asia Minor was more

The Cappadocians are always styled by writers contemporary with the Persians, Leuco-Syri, or White Syrians;[52] to distinguish them from the Syrians properly so called.

"Their complexion," says Strabo, "was fairer than that of their countrymen to the south." It is probable, however, that the Cappadocians had themselves assumed this appellation, from motives of vanity. Most of the eastern nations take a pride in bearing a name significant of fairness of complexion. Hence the White Huns, the golden-horde, (among the Kalmucs,) etc. Even the empress of Russia was habitually styled by her oriental subjects, the White Czarina.

Cappadocia on the Pontus, or, as it was afterwards styled, Pontus, was also inhabited by the Leuco-Syri in its western division bordering on the Halys.[53] Besides these, however, were settled there a mixed multitude of tribes, which had probably migrated from the north, and in many respects retained their original barbarism. It is possible that the western division of their territory may have been subjugated, and formed, as Strabo leads us to conclude, a separate satrapy;[54] but the inhabitants of its eastern half, safe in their woods and mountains, paid little or no regard to the authority of the Persian king, except when, for the sake of plunder, they chose to accompany his armies. Many traits respecting them have been preserved by Xenophon and other contemporary authors, which possess all the interest which attaches to the records of a semi-barbarous people. In the most easterly corner of their territory lived the Heniochi, whose name was significant of their manner of life, and their Scythian origin. They migrated, like other Tartar tribes, from place to place in their carts, in which were their habitations. The vicinity of the sea inclined them to maritime pursuits; and the rich trading vessels of the Greeks allured them to practise piracy. The Chalybians occupied a mountainous district in their neighbourhood; a nation celebrated as early as the Homeric poems for their silver mines, and who continued, in the time

rude or uncivilized than these Cappadocians: by the Romans they were only esteemed as good litter-bearers, on account of the breadth of their shoulders.

[52] Herod. v. 49; Strabo, p. 819. [53] Strabo, p. 822.

[54] Ibid. p. 808. I am not aware of any other place where this territory is named as a distinct satrapy.

of Xenophon, to work them, though then producing nothing but iron.[55] They were at that time subject to their more powerful neighbours, the Mosynæci; one of the wildest and most uncivilized nations of Asia, who were governed by a chief or king, maintained at the public expense in a wooden tower, which he was never permitted to quit. Their habitations were pitched upon the summits of the mountains, at certain intervals, so that the approach of an enemy might be announced from one to the other by signals. Their food consisted of dried fish and chestnuts; the latter supplied in abundance by their extensive forests; and on this diet the children of their principal men were so effectually fattened, that, according to Xenophon, they were nearly as broad as they were long. They practised piracy, in boats containing only three persons, two combatants and one who rowed; they dyed and tattooed their bodies with representations of flowers.

The Tibareni were of less barbarous manners, and inhabited a less mountainous country, reaching to the spacious and fruitful plain of Themiscyra; one of the most fertile spots in Asia, and the ancient seat of the fabled Amazons. This plain, with the surrounding mountains, was covered by woods of fruit trees, many of the most valuable sorts flourishing without cultivation. Corn and wine were no less abundant there, and the vast woods abounded in game. On the coast were the Milesian colonies of Amisus and Trapezus, founded for the purpose of promoting the navigation of the Euxine, and favouring a commercial intercourse with the natives.

In the centre of their territory was situated the city of Comana, resembling one of the same name in Great Cappadocia, not only in its appellation, but its internal constitution. The government was in the hands of the priesthood: the high priest of the deity worshipped in both cities exercising a sort of authority over the town and the adjacent district. Several thousand slaves of both sexes belonged to the temple, as well as extensive landed possessions.

A spiritual supremacy of this kind prevailed in several cities of Asia Minor; as, for instance, at Pessinus in Phrygia.[56] The origin of such constitutions is uncertain; but,

[55] XENOPH. *Op.* p. 357.

[56] STRABO, pp. 838, 851.

according to tradition, was of very ancient date. The same cities were also great resorts of commerce, lying on the high-road from Armenia to Asia Minor. The bond between commerce and religion was very intimate; the festivals of their worship were also those of their great fairs, frequented by a multitude of foreigners; all of whom, (certain classes of females not excepted,) as well as every thing which had a reference to trade, were considered as under the immediate protection of the temple and the divinity. The same fact may be remarked here which has obtained in several states of Central Africa; namely, that the union of commerce with some particular mode of worship gave occasion, at a very early period, to certain political associations, and introduced a sacerdotal government.

To the west of Pontus lay Paphlagonia, separated from it by the Halys, here two stades in breadth, and only passable by boats.[57] The eastern division of this country was covered, like the former, with lofty hills, over which the road lay from Amisus to Trapezus, but the western portion of the country formed a noble plain watered by several rivers. This district possessed an excellent breed of horses, from the possession of which the Paphlagonian cavalry came to be accounted the best in Asia. The Persians had taken possession of the country, and the Paphlagonians are enumerated by Herodotus among the tributary nations;[58] but they were too strong to be completely subdued. In the time of Xenophon they appear to have been nearly independent, under a ruler of their own, who, though frequently siding with the Persians, did not hesitate, when inclined by circumstances, to take part with the Greeks; and as the Paphlagonians were able to bring into the field an army of one hundred and twenty thousand men, they possessed the means of making their alliances respectable.[59] Sinope, a Milesian colony, the most opulent of all the Grecian towns on the Euxine, was also situated on their coast. It was an independent republic, possessing an extensive territory of its own, but tributary to Persia, at least at certain periods.

One district alone of the northern coast of Asia Minor

[57] Xenoph. *Anab. Op.* p. 358; whence also the following particulars are taken.

[58] Herod. iii. 90.

[59] Xenoph. loc. cit.

remains to be considered, that of Bithynia, situated to the west; a country no less fruitful, level, and rich in pastures, than Paphlagonia, except at its western extremity, where rose the lofty and woody region of Mount Olympus. Like Pontus, it was inhabited by various tribes, all of European origin, from the adjacent kingdom of Thrace.[60] They had no towns, but lived in large open villages, with which the interior of the country was filled in every direction. The level parts abounded in all sorts of grain, as well as vegetables and vines; and fed large flocks of sheep. Their oil, as in many other parts of Asia, was procured from sesamum. The sea-coast was covered with extensive forests, supplying good timber for ship-building, of which the Grecian colonists of Heraclea did not fail to make use.[61]

There is no territory of Asia Minor concerning which the information we possess is more defective, nor one the relations of which to the Persian empire it is more difficult to define. It is true that Herodotus specifies some of the tribes inhabiting Bithynia, both in his catalogue of the satrapies, and his account of the forces of Xerxes;[62] but it is probable that the different tribes were not treated by the Persians on the same footing. The Bithyni were the principal race, occupying the western division of the country. They were subject to a Persian satrap, who was also governor of Little Phrygia, and had his residence in the city of Dascylium, situated between the two provinces, where every thing which could minister to the unbounded luxury of a Persian vice-regal court was found in abundance.[63] The other Thracian tribes, however, which occupied the eastern part of the country, were not subject to his dominion, but governed by a chief of their own, who was an ally and tributary of the Persian monarch; in return for which his authority was maintained, and his country defended by the

[60] HEROD. loc. cit.

[61] See XENOPH. *Anab. Op.* pp. 376, 377.

[62] HEROD. iii. 90; vii. 72.

[63] XENOPH. *Hellen.* iv. *Op.* p. 509. "Agesilaus marched to Dascylium, where was the palace of the satrap Pharnabazus; surrounded by many large villages, abounding in all the necessaries of life. There were also abundance of animals of the chase; some in enclosed parks, others in the open country. They were surrounded by a stream full of all kinds of fish; and there were also in the neighbourhood a multitude of birds for such as were skilled in fowling."

neighbouring satraps against the assaults of enemies, especially of the Greeks.

It remains to speak of the southern coast of Asia Minor, comprehending the districts of Lycia, Pamphylia with Pisidia, and Cilicia. All these countries were extremely mountainous; the range of Taurus commencing in the first, and extending through the others. The difficult nature of their country always opposed obstacles to their conquest; and though reckoned by the Persians among their conquered provinces, they were in reality far from being always in subjection to them.

Of all these, the Lycians, situated on the sea-coast, were the most civilized. According to Strabo, their cities formed at a very early period a federal league, bearing a close resemblance to that of the Achæans. They held congresses in which their common interests were discussed; and were governed by a president styled Lyciarchus, with other subordinate magistrates.[64] The date of this constitution is uncertain, but the Lycians are always spoken of as a free people up to the Persian invasion; when they sank under the attacks of the generals of Cyrus.[65] Their subsequent revolts prove that they had been reduced to the state of a conquered province,[66] although we do not find any satrap of Lycia expressly mentioned. The same appears to have been the case with Pamphylia; the sea-coast of which was a frequent station for the fleets of the Persians. The rude Pisidians, however, seated on their mountains, gave themselves so little concern about the authority of the Persians, that it appears to have been, as it were, the constant duty of the neighbouring satraps to wage war against them.[67] The same was true of the much more extensive district of Cilicia; which contained, between its lofty chains of mountains, especially in those to the east, spreading plains and valleys, adorned with the most luxuriant vegetation, and producing abundance of every kind of corn, as well as of fruit and vines. Through this elevated country ran the high-road from Lycaonia to Tarsus, a large, opulent, and splendid city on the Cydnus; by which, also, Xenophon, with the army of the younger Cyrus, entered into Upper

[64] Strabo, p. 980.
[65] Herod. i. 28, 176.
[66] Diod. ii. p. 74.
[67] Xenoph. *Anab.* i. *Op.* 244.

Asia.[68] Cilicia was at that time governed by a prince of its own, styled Syennesis, who, though tributary, retained the title of king, and who was treated by Cyrus as an enemy, till he had appeased him by presents. Not only were the limits of his kingdom accurately defined, but Cilician and Persian outposts were stationed over against each other, and the boundary pass secured by gates. On other occasions, however, we find Persian satraps mentioned as governing the country:[69] the ships of the Cilicians always formed a part of the Persian fleet, and Xenophon himself, who mentions the circumstances above referred to, speaks of the country as forming part of the dominions of Persia,[70] a certain proof that the conquerors at first permitted the Cilicians, as they did so many other nations, to retain their former rulers and their internal constitution; and that their dominion continued to be undefined, and was perpetually modified by existing circumstances.

II. SYRIA AND PHŒNICIA.

THE countries comprehended by the Greeks under the general name of Syria, formed another principal portion of the Persian territory on this side of the Euphrates; but the term Syria was used by them in so loose and indefinite a manner that a previous account of it is necessary.

The appellation of Syria answers, in its widest signification, to the oriental term *Aram*, and denotes all the countries inhabited by the Aramæans or Syrians; embracing not only the countries on this side the Euphrates, but frequently, also, Mesopotamia and Babylonia, and even Assyria properly so called, or Kurdistan, on the other side the Tigris; nothing being more common with the Greek and Roman authors than to interchange the terms of Syria and Assyria. In general, therefore, this name was applied to the extensive plains which stretch from the Mediterranean to Armenia, and the mountains of Persia, throughout which the same language was spoken, differing only in its dialect; a proof that the same race possessed that region.

[68] XENOPH. loc. cit. p. 248. [69] ARRIAN, ii. 4. [70] XENOPH. *Op.* p. 427.

In the more restricted sense of the word, Syria was understood to mean the countries on this side the Euphrates, and lying between that river and the Mediterranean; sometimes comprehending Phœnicia and Palestine, sometimes without including these, especially the former, whose inhabitants, originally of the same stock, soon distinguished themselves from those of the interior by their addiction to maritime affairs. The latter preserved the peaceful habits and dispositions which usually characterize the occupants of extensive and fertile plains. They frequently became the prey of foreign conquerors, without ever themselves becoming conspicuous in the history of the world as such; although the rulers of some of the states into which their country was subdivided, especially the princes of Damascus, occasionally made successful efforts to enlarge their dominion. On the contrary, they devoted themselves to the cultivation of their own territory, which in many parts abounded in wine,[1] corn,[2] and the other necessaries of life; or, where the nature of the soil did not permit this, they became herdsmen, or, more frequently, shepherds. These fruitful situations were principally found in the northern portion of the country, where the chain of mountains which runs along the coast divides itself into two branches, Libanus and Anti-Libanus, whose woody eminences enclose one of the richest vales on the surface of the globe; a district which in consequence of its depressed situation was denominated by the Greeks, the Hollow (or Cœle) Syria. This was looked upon as the most important part of the whole territory, and is frequently named when in fact the whole of Syria is meant. The rest of the country consisted of one uninterrupted plain, diminishing in fertility in proportion as it receded from the mountains and approached the confines of Arabia, and finally becoming, from the want of water, a mere desert, where no further traces of cities or settled habitations were to be found, occupied only by the tents and herds of wandering Arabs.[3] Yet even this sandy waste contained some fertile spots, in one of which Palmyra,

[1] Especially in the territory of Chalybon, the wine of which was held in high estimation. STRABO, p. 1068.

[2] Particularly *wheat*, which no where attained greater perfection than in Palestine.

[3] STRABO, p. 1093.

so celebrated for her magnificent remains, was seated; serving as a halting-place to the Indian caravans, on their way to Tyre and the coast of the Mediterranean. Several other cities were planted in the northern or mountainous region, as Damascus, (at one time the mistress of the whole country,) Chalybon, (or Haleb,) and others; or along the course of the Euphrates, as was the case with Thapsacus, and Circesium, (or Karchemish,) where the Euphrates was usually passed. Even the less fruitful districts were sprinkled here and there with groves of palms; and the ridges of Libanus and Anti-Libanus were crowned with forests of cedar and other stately timber trees, affording an inexhaustible supply of wood for the dock-yards and edifices of the commercial cities of Phœnicia.

As the Persians were always able to sweep with their cavalry the plains of Syria, they treated it altogether as a conquered and subject country; the possession of which was the more important, as it tended to secure that of Egypt, which they were anxious to maintain in subjection, in the same degree that the Egyptians were on many occasions eager to shake off their yoke. It would appear from notices in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, that nearly the whole of Syria formed, at the period of which we are speaking, the province of a single satrap, who bore the title of governor of the country "beyond the river,"[4] Palestine being, without doubt, comprehended in his jurisdiction, though occasionally the Jews were governed by a ruler of their own race. At other times we find allusion made to more satraps than one.[5] At a later period we have proof that Cœle-Syria, with Phœnicia, were detached from the rest of Syria,[6] and we may, therefore, conclude that the country was generally, though not always, divided into two governments. The usual residence of the Syrian satraps was near the sources of the little river Dacadacus, about fifty miles to the west of Thapsacus on the Euphrates, where they had a palace and spacious pleasure-grounds, which were laid waste by the younger Cyrus.[7] The residence of the satrap of Cœle-Syria was probably Damascus; but of this we have no positive proof.

[4] EZRA, vi. 6, etc.
[5] NEHEMIAH, ii. 7, 9.
[6] DIOD. SIC. ii. p. 261.
[7] XENOPH. *Anab. Op.* p. 254.

The great maritime towns of Syria, to which we shall subsequently devote a separate part of this work, though annexed in the catalogue of Persian satrapies to that of Cœle-Syria, enjoyed many important privileges.[8] They were of the highest importance to the Persians, not only as being the richest in their empire, but as their fleets enabled them to command the Mediterranean. Besides, these cities had voluntarily submitted themselves to the first Persian conqueror;[9] probably because they very properly considered the payment of a tribute would be less burdensome than a siege and a possible sack of their town; of which the incursions of the Assyrian and Babylonian armies had left on their minds a terrible recollection. In return for this submission, they were allowed to retain their internal constitution, and even their native line of princes; their subjection being confined to the payment of a tribute, for the collection of which the neighbouring satraps were responsible, and to the furnishing a certain contingent to the naval armaments of the Persians. By such moderate concessions they secured the undisturbed prosecution of their commerce through the whole extent of the Persian empire, and requited their masters with a fidelity and zeal which was proof against almost every change of fortune.

COUNTRIES BEYOND THE EUPHRATES.

I. COUNTRIES BETWEEN THE TIGRIS AND EUPHRATES.

The vast plains enclosed by the above rivers formed, as it were, an isosceles triangle, of which the rivers composed the two sides, and the Tauric range, by which it was bounded to the north, the base. From its situation between the two great streams, the Greeks gave it the name of Mesopotamia;

[8] See the chapter on the Phœnicians below.
[9] Herod. iii. 19.

an appellation which appears, however, not to have been known during the dynasty of the Persians. It was much more usually considered a part of Syria, because inhabited by a portion of the Syrian race; or as belonging to Arabia, because a number of Arab tribes were accustomed to wander in the steppes it contains; and accordingly we find that the names of Syria, or Assyria, and Arabia are applied to it indiscriminately.[1]

The district thus called, in after-times, Mesopotamia, varies greatly in its natural features. The greater part forms a barren steppe of immense extent, without the smallest inequality of surface, and equally destitute of wood and water, some desert streams excepted, which in dry seasons are totally absorbed. A few plants, of small size, some of them aromatic, and among others a species of absinthium, were its sole vegetable productions. No inhabitants were found there, with the exception of some nomad hordes, partly wanderers from Arabia, partly from the mountainous region to the north. Many districts were totally destitute of grass and fodder: the animals, however, of the desert, wild asses and ostriches, were found in abundance. The former, which have now retired into the steppes of Mongolia and the deserts of Persia, then wandered over these plains, and were chased by horsemen, and caught with the lasso.[2] The ostrich also, which is still so abundant in the deserts of Africa and Arabia, now rarely occurs in the ancient Mesopotamia.

The country improved in fertility as it verged towards the banks of the Euphrates, or rose in the direction of the chain of Taurus. In these parts were found a considerable number of towns of some importance; such as Circesium, Anthemusias, with others near on the Euphrates; and, in the northern part of the country, Zoba or Nisibis. The antiquity of these cities was very great: their inhabitants

[1] It is styled Syria, or Assyria, when understood to comprehend Babylonia. XENOPHON (from whose description in the first book of the *Anab.* the following account is taken) calls it Arabia. Neither he nor Herodotus ever use the term Mesopotamia.

[2] The animal described by ARISTOTLE, *Hist. Anim.* vi. 24 and 36, is unquestionably the Dsiggetai of the Mongols, of which PALLAS has given so interesting an account, *Neue Nordische Beiträge*, ii. p. 1, sqq. Porter met with one in the deserts of Persia, which he was fortunate enough to kill, and of which he has given a plate. PORTER'S *Travels*, vol. i. p. 459.

were in a great measure Syrians, and thus the whole territory came to be annexed by the Persians to the satrapy of Syria. The desert part of Mesopotamia appears to have been in a great degree abandoned to itself.[3]

During the empire of the Persians, the southern part of this country, forming the district of Babylonia, and a separate satrapy, was cut off by a wall of bricks, cemented with bitumen, which ran obliquely across the plain from the Euphrates to the Tigris, and was commonly called the Median wall.[4] Like many other structures of the same kind in Asia, it appears to have been designed to repress the incursions of the barbarous hordes, which infested the desert without.

Babylonia formed a satrapy by itself, and though one of the smallest in extent, was in riches and resources the most considerable of all.[5] This important district demands a separate portion of this work for its consideration.

The mountains which bounded Mesopotamia to the north were in a great measure occupied by rude and warlike tribes, which owned no allegiance to the Persian monarch. Their country extended along the banks of the Tigris, from the little river Centrites,[6] (Khabour,) which formed the boundary of Armenia, as far as Cappadocia on the Pontus; as we learn from the interesting recital of Xenophon, whose retreat with the ten thousand lay directly through this territory. The first that he fell in with were the Carduchi, occupying the steep mountains and deep valleys which contain the sources of the Tigris as well as the Euphrates. They dwelt in open villages, situated in the valleys, and enjoyed an abundant supply of corn and wine. Every attempt to subdue them had proved fruitless, and they had even annihilated mighty armies of invaders.[7] The neighbouring satraps could only secure a free intercourse with them by means of previous treaties. They were a prosperous people, possessing houses carefully constructed, and provided with plenty of metal utensils, and so abundant was their country in wine, that it was commonly kept in tanks

[3] On the other hand, a satrap of Arabia is mentioned, CYROP. viii. 230. Whether Mesopotamia, or Eastern Syria, or both, be meant by this term I do not venture to decide.

[4] XENOPH. *Op.* p. 282.

[5] HEROD. i. 192.

[6] XENOPH. *Anab. Op.* p. 322.

[7] XENOPH. loc. cit. p. 356.

or cisterns.[8] To the north of these lived the Chaldæi,[9] inhabiting regular cities; a no less warlike race than the Carduchi, accustomed to fight in linen corslets, with pikes and short swords, with which they sought to cut off the heads of their enemies. Next came the Phasiani and Taochi, inhabiting the interior of the same mountainous district; and then the Macrones, clothed in dresses made of hair; the Colchi, on the sea-coast of the Euxine; and the Mosynæci, the wildest and rudest of all these tribes, situated in the eastern division of Pontus;[10] to whom adjoined the Chalybes, subjects of the former, a nation celebrated in the Homeric poems as possessing mines of silver, but in the time of Xenophon working only iron mines, by which they gained their livelihood.[11] All these tribes, though occasionally enrolled as mercenaries in the Persian armies, paid little regard to the authority of the great king, being sufficiently protected by their mountains and strong holds against the incursions of his troops.[12]

On the other hand, these mountains enclosed an extensive tract, Armenia, which was subject to the Persians, and formed a separate satrapy. It was one of the most elevated regions of Asia, surrounded on every side and intersected by mountains, and of so cold a climate, that even in milder seasons the snow frequently falls deep enough to make the roads nearly impassable. The valleys, however, and the southern parts of the country are not unfruitful. Corn, wine, and pulse are produced there in abundance, though the more constant occupation of the inhabitants has at all times been the keeping of cattle.[13] In the Persian period they did not live in cities, but generally in great open places; even the Persian satrap resided in one of these; or else in under-ground habitations, in which also they kept

[8] PORTER describes the great natural fertility of this country in his *Travels*, vol. i. p. 130. The hills are covered with noble woods: the grapes grow wild, and may be pressed at once. Rice, wheat, and rye abound.

[9] RENNELL, *Illustration of the Expedition of Cyrus the Younger*, p. 233, has shown that XENOPHON probably meant Chaldæi, when he wrote (p. 356) Chalybes. In the *Cyrop. Op.* p. 70, the same country is assigned to them.

[10] See above, p. 77.

[11] XENOPH. *Op.* p. 354.

[12] XENOPHON expressly asserts this of the Carduchi, the Taochi, and the Chaldæi, loc. cit. p. 356.

[13] STRABO, p. 800, sqq. For what follows, consult the elegant account of XENOPHON, *Anab. Op.* p. 327, sqq.

their cattle. Every place had its own ruler, who was treated with great respect, and allowed to take provisions wherever he might think proper. It may be remarked, that the nation appears to have been generally distinguished by a singular simplicity of manners, and almost patriarchal hospitality. They were not then infected with the spirit of wandering and love of trade, which at the present day make them so often strangers to their own country; though some traces of such a disposition may be discovered, even under the Persians. They kept up a close commercial communication with Babylon, (whither they exported their wines by the Euphrates,[14]) as well as with Tyre and the other maritime cities of Phœnicia, which took from them their cattle, particularly their mules and horses.[15] The latter were so highly prized, that a yearly tribute of twenty thousand were delivered for the service of the Persian monarch;[16] they were smaller, but more spirited, than those of the Persians, and belonged to the Median breed; which we shall have occasion to mention hereafter.

II. COUNTRIES OF UPPER ASIA, LYING BETWEEN THE TIGRIS AND INDUS.

We are now arrived at the principal provinces of the Persian monarchy, which contained the abodes of the conquerors, and the capital of the empire. Even at the present day they are comprised under the general name of Persia, though Farsistan, the original country of the Persians, forms a very small part of this territory. Anciently they were called by the Orientals themselves by the common term of Iran, (the Ariana of the Greeks,[1]) and the inhabitants, in-

[14] Herod. i. 194. [15] Ezekiel, xxvii. 14. [16] Strabo, p. 797.

[1] We must carefully distinguish between the terms Aria and Ariana, as used by the Greeks. The former was applied to a province which we shall have occasion to describe in the sequel; the latter is equivalent to Iran, and appears to have been formed from the ancient term in the Zend language, Eriene. The whole of Iran composes a sort of oblong, the Tigris and Indus forming its sides to the east and west, the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean bounding it to the south; and the Caspian, with Mount Taurus and the river Oxus, shutting it in to the north. These were also the limits of the ancient Ariana, (see Strabo, p. 1048,) except that, towards the west, its boundary was an imaginary line separating it from Persia Proper. Of this more extensive district, Aria (according to Strabo) formed only a part, distinguished

asmuch as they possessed fixed habitations and laws, were styled Iranians, in opposition to the Turanians, or wandering hordes of Central Asia. The distinction between *our country*, and *not our country*, is that on which the geography of all nations, especially oriental nations, is apt to be grounded. Notwithstanding the great diversity which prevails in these countries, which in superficial extent are at least four times as large as Germany, they all enjoy a delicious climate, the mountainous tracts alone excepted; their fertility being generally proportionate to the supply of water they possess. In some parts it is altogether wanting; and to remedy this, it was usual of old, and continues to be so at present, to irrigate such districts by drawing off streams of water into a multitude of canals. In this manner the Oxus, being divided into forty smaller currents, was made to water an extensive plain;[2] and for the same reason Cyrus devoted a whole campaign to the task of leading off the water of the Gyndes into a number of streamlets.[3] By such means the arid parts were irrigated; the inhabitants either cutting tanks to receive it, or sinking wells; or, lastly, conducting the water of springs from place to place through subterranean ducts.[4] This fact, which the observations of the best informed modern travellers tend to confirm, may explain how it has come to pass that many districts, anciently celebrated for their fertility, are at present barren and unproductive. A single invasion, by destroying the watercourses, is sufficient to reduce in a short time a fertile and flourishing country to an arid desert; and to how many such disastrous contingencies has Persia at all times been exposed!

Of all these districts, Persia, properly so called, (Fars or Farsistan,[5]) unquestionably demands our chief attention, as

by its superior fertility. HERODOTUS appears to have been unacquainted with the term Ariana; he merely (vii. 62, 66) mentions the Arii, as a nation allied to the Medes.

[2] HEROD. iii. 117. The Aces of this author is probably the Oxus.

[3] HEROD. i. 189.

[4] An accurate account of these canals will be found in MORIER, *Journey to Persia*, p. 163. See also POLYBIUS, x. 28, 3, for the manner in which they were constructed by the ancient Persians.

[5] *Pars* is the Persian, *Fars* the Arabic pronunciation of the word: the Persian termination *stan* denoting *country*. Almost all the modern names of the part of Upper Asia subject to the Persians, end thus: *Farsistan*, the country

the chief country of the conquerors, and the seat of government. It formed a satrapy by itself,[6] independent of the adjacent Susiana, (Khuzistan,) though frequently associated with the latter by ancient writers; forming a country of moderate extent, not much larger than Hungary, but presenting a great variety in its parts.[7] The southern portion, bordering on the gulf to which it has given name, is a sandy plain, rendered almost uninhabitable during the summer months by heat, and by the pestilential winds which blow over it from the deserts of Kerman. It is generally inaccessible on the side of the sea; the flat shore, unindented by any inlet, offering only in one or two places the shelter of a harbour. At a little distance from the sea the land rises as it were in terraces; the surfaces of which form downs, whose rich pastures are watered by a number of rivulets, and covered with villages and numerous herds. Fruits of all sorts are here found in abundance, and the excessive heat of the sea-shore becomes mitigated. Towards the north these agreeable districts pass into lofty and sterile mountains, a continuation of the range of Taurus, enclosing some fruitful valleys, but, for the most part, affording shelter only to a few nomad tribes and their flocks, being generally incapable of tillage. The soil is for the most part arid and unproductive, and the mild climate of the country just described becomes so inclement, that, even in the summer season, the mountain tops are not unfrequently covered with snow. This ungenial region was, nevertheless, the cradle of the conquerors of Asia. Inured from their childhood to a rugged climate, they conquered without difficulty the effeminate inhabitants of the low-lands; but, although it was the policy of their rulers to attach them as much as possible to their barren country,[8] they were soon seduced by the allurements of luxury, and themselves prepared the way for the destruction of their empire.

Not only is Persia Proper memorable on account of its historical associations, but also for the architectural remains

of the Persians: *Hindustan*, of the Hindus: *Kurdistan*, of the Kurds or Koords, etc.

[6] ARRIAN, iii. 18.

[7] Compare for the following particulars, STRABO, p. 1027, with CHARDIN, i. p. 6, etc.

[8] HEROD. ix. 122.

which it continues to present. The ruins of Persepolis are the noblest monument of the most flourishing era of this empire, which has survived the lapse of ages. As solitary in their situation, as peculiar in their character, they rise above the deluge of years which for centuries has overwhelmed all the records of human grandeur around them or near them, and buried all traces of Susa and of Babylon. Their venerable antiquity and majestic proportions do not more command our reverence, than the mystery which involves their construction awakens the curiosity of the most unobservant spectator. Pillars which belong to no known order of architecture; inscriptions in an alphabet which continues an enigma; fabulous animals which stand as guards at the entrance; the multiplicity of allegorical figures which decorate the walls—all conspire to carry us back to ages of the most remote antiquity, over which the traditions of the East shed a doubtful and wandering light. Even the question, What Persepolis really was? is not so perfectly ascertained as to satisfy the critical historian. An answer to this question may, however, be fairly expected, when we consider the ample materials which the traveller and the artist have already contributed.[9]

The common opinion is, that Persepolis was the capital and residence of the Persian monarchs, but a closer acquaintance with the records of antiquity must cause this opinion to appear very doubtful. No contemporary author, Greek or Hebrew, mentions Persepolis by name. It is first alluded to at the period of the decline of the Persian monarchy, the moment of its destruction being that also of its earliest mention. It is to be observed, that the ancient authors referred to—Herodotus, Ctesias, and Xenophon, as well as Nehemiah—were perfectly well acquainted with the other principal cities of the Persian empire, and make

[9] Of the early travellers who make mention of Persepolis I shall only refer to the three best: LE BRUYN, *Voyage au Levant*, vol. iv. p. 301, sqq.; CHARDIN, ii. p. 140; and NIEBUHR, *Reise nach Arabien*, etc. ii. 121, sqq. Whatever may be the merit of each of these, they are all eclipsed by the description, and still more by the designs, of a recent English traveller, SIR ROBERT KER PORTER, *Travels*, vol. i. He not only enjoyed greater opportunities, from a more abundant leisure and longer stay near the ruins, than any of his predecessors; but as an artist he leaves them at an immeasurable distance behind him; not only by the beauty, but also by the accuracy of his designs.

frequent mention of Susa, Babylon, and Ecbatana. Nor can their silence respecting Persepolis be attributed to accident, for they mark the portions of the year which the Persian monarchs used to spend at their several residences in such a manner as to leave no portion of the year vacant for Persepolis.[10]

It is clear, therefore, that Persepolis must not be put on the same footing with those other great cities, as one of the proper and permanent residences of the king. Nevertheless it is styled by the most credible historians, the capital of all the empire;[11] and the conduct of Alexander, who, seeking to avenge himself on the Persians, laid waste Persepolis, while he spared Babylon and Susa, confirms the idea that this place possessed a more peculiar and exalted character. The mystery which appears to hang over its history confers additional interest on its ruins: a mystery which nothing but the light of critical investigation can dispel. Let us see whether it may not suffice to guide us by an untried path, among ruins and sepulchres, to a more elevated point of view, whence we may command a prospect of this field of desolation above the mists by which it is enveloped!

The proper way of replying to the question, What Persepolis was? is by showing what it is; and to this end, I shall endeavour to give a general sketch of its ruins, without entering into a description of their details, which could not be intelligible without the designs of Niebuhr, Chardin, or Porter.[12]

The ruins of Persepolis are situated in a plain encompassed by mountains, and named from a village it contains, the plain of Merdasht, connected, to the north, with another called that of Mourghaub, and together with this, extends from 30° to the 31° of N. Lat., a distance of about fifty-four miles from south to north, not, however, without inflections. It is watered by a considerable stream, the Bend-Emir, or

[10] See the places quoted by BRISSON, *De Regno Persico*, p. 88.

[11] It is styled *Caput Regni*; Μητρόπολις τῆς τῶν Περσῶν βασιλείας—*Regia totius Orientis*, etc. See BRISSON, loc. cit. p. 96.

[12] To assist the imagination of my reader, I have added a plan of the remains of Persepolis or Chehl-Menâr. I must beg my reader to consult the designs of Chardin and Niebuhr, or rather those of Porter, on which my description is grounded.

Araxes of the ancients, which receives a smaller river, the Kur, (Cyrus,) and empties itself into a lake not far from Shiraz. To this copious supply of water the fertility of this district is to be ascribed; over the whole extent of which are scattered ancient ruins of very different dates; bearing inscriptions in a variety of languages, and works of art in very different tastes. In order to make the following account intelligible, it is absolutely necessary to describe the different classes to which these various remains may be referred. These may be described as three.

I. The ancient Persian remains, belonging to the old empire of Persia, and some perhaps to a still more remote period. II. Those of the era of the Sassanian princes, the second Persian empire, which arose out of the Parthian, in the third century. III. The Arabic, Neo-Persic, and other inscriptions, belonging to the period of the Califate; copies of which, with their explanations, are to be found in Niebuhr.[13]

Those of the last class, containing nothing but some moral observations on the perishable condition and mutability of all human things, may be passed over in silence; nor does the second class demand more than a single observation or two, which I shall make in this place, that I may not again recur to the subject.

The monuments of this date consist partly in relievos, partly in inscriptions, hewn in the rocks, at the distance of about five miles from Persepolis, or Chehl-Menâr properly so called.[14] They are styled *Neksh-i-Roostem* (the *Image of Roostem);* from an idea that they represent the achievements of that fabulous hero of the Persians. The labours, however, of a learned Frenchman[15] have made us better acquainted with their true meaning, by deciphering the inscriptions beneath, which are couched in Greek as well as Persian characters.[16] They refer to kings of the Sassanian

[13] NIEBUHR, p. 139, sqq.

[14] NIEBUHR, p. 154, pl. xxxii. See also PORTER, pl. xi.—xxxiv.

[15] DE SACY, *Mémoires sur diverses Antiquités de la Perse*, Paris, 1793-4. The inscriptions of the third class are also explained in an appendix.

[16] Properly speaking, they are in the ancient Pehlvi language, (see above, p. 47,) which under the Sassanides, though no longer a living language, was, in a manner, the language of the learned, answering in some respects to the Latin in Europe, as the most ancient translations of the Zend writings had been composed in it. At present it is rare to meet with a Parsee priest who

dynasty, as is proved by the style of the head-dress of the figures, the same with that which invariably appears upon their coins. As these princes chose to derive their descent from the ancient kings of Persia, whose successors they styled themselves, they endeavoured to perpetuate their memory by monuments placed as near as possible to those of the former race, and on this account the neighbourhood of Persepolis, styled by them *Istakhar*, became as much classical ground with them as it had been with the ancient Persians; though their monuments were not confined to its vicinity.

The remains of the first class, or the old Persian monuments, with which alone we shall at present concern ourselves, are of a totally different character, so different that, fortunately, there is no danger of confounding them with those of a later epoch. To this class belong the ruins of the palace of Persepolis itself, called by the Arabs, Chehl-Menâr, or the Forty Pillars; with two great sepulchral monuments in their neighbourhood.

2dly. Four sepulchres, resembling the former, situated about five miles farther towards the N. E., near Neksh-i-Roostem, and dignified with the name of the Tombs of the Kings; with the remains of some ancient edifices in their neighbourhood. Besides these, there are other ruins lying between Chehl-Menâr and Neksh-i-Roostem, consisting in columns, pillars, and tombs; some of which do not appear to have been ever completed. In the next place, are situated in the plains of Mourghaub the ruins of Pasargada; and, lastly, more to the north, those of Bisoutoun, on the confines of Media; with others of inferior consequence scattered here and there. It is clear that our observations ought not to be confined to a single spot, as anciently the whole of this territory was classical ground. The principal ruins are those of Chehl-Menâr,[17] and are evidently the remains of a great and splendid edifice, arresting the attention

understands it, and Europeans are acquainted with it only by means of the little vocabularies which ANQUETIL DU PERRON has preserved for us. The inscriptions of the ancient Persian era, or the first class, which we shall proceed to consider, are totally distinct from the above.

[17] See the plan annexed. The pillars are not exactly forty, but the Persians use the term to express any large number, and have applied it to other great palaces; for instance, that at Ispahan. CHARDIN, ii. p. 33.

of the spectator even by their remarkable position. They are situated on the declivity of the mountainous region of Persia, and rising, as it were, from the very foot of the hill where it meets the plain. That lofty and rocky chain of hills, of the most beautiful grey marble, forms a sort of crescent, opening to receive the back part of the ruins, while their front extends far into the plain. They are constructed on a platform hewn out of the rock, and facing the four quarters of the heavens.[18] The nature of the ground, of which the architect appears to have availed himself, gives the whole building the aspect of an amphitheatre erected on three terraces rising successively above one another. The whole is built of marble, quarried in the neighbouring hills, and so artfully are these enormous blocks disposed upon one another, without lime or cement, that it is often difficult, by the nicest observation, to detect their junctures. The passages from the lower to the upper terraces are by marble staircases, wide enough to allow ten horsemen to ascend abreast.[19] The staircase of the first terrace (*a*, *b*; see the plan) led to a portico, of which only four pilasters (*cc*, *dd*) remain standing, which, grouped in pairs, form the entrance towards the north and south. A pair of fabulous animals, of colossal size, are sculptured on each, and appear to have been placed there as sentinels to guard the entrance. Between them are situated (at *e*) four columns; every thing else here is in ruins. From this first terrace you ascend by steps (*g*, *i*) resembling the first, only less wide, to a second terrace, where you find one, or more properly four colonnades, (H,) a considerable number of the columns of which still remain. They are fluted, about forty-eight or fifty feet high, and of such size that three men can with difficulty encompass them. Instead of capitals, they are surmounted by the heads of animals *addossed*, as a herald would term it, the space between the heads being hollow, and probably designed to contain the supports of a

[18] PORTER, *Travels*, vol. i. p. 582.

[19] The three terraces are indicated on the plan by the capital letters A, B, C. PORTER, p. 644, distinguishes them into five, but it appears to me more simple to treat of them as three, and to consider the fourth and fifth (which are scarcely distinguishable from one another, in consequence of their ruins) as portions of the third.

flat roof;[20] so as to form a great peristyle of the whole edifice. These colonnades lead to several edifices still standing, of which the largest (*r*) is situated on the same level; the others (*s*, *t*, *x*, *w*) stand higher up, and form, as it were, a third terrace. They all contain a number of apartments of various sizes, and appear to have been occupied as habitations. The interior of these buildings is decorated with numerous designs, which are doubly interesting to the antiquarian, as evidently referring to the destination of the building to which they are attached. We have already mentioned the fabulous animals by which the entrances at *c* and *d* appear to be guarded; in like manner the walls of the staircase at *g* and *i* are adorned with a great number of human figures, distinguished from one another by the variety of their dresses and attributes, and apparently forming a procession. The walls and entrances of the buildings further back are no less plentifully sculptured with representations, either of persons of rank, with their attendants and insignia, or the combats of wild or fabulous animals, sometimes with one another, and sometimes with men. On the face of the rock,[21] from which the terrace projects on which the building stands, are two sepulchral monuments at *d* and *e*. A façade has been formed in the surface of the cliff, at a considerable height from the ground, behind which is a square apartment, at present to be approached only by an entrance forcibly broken open; the true entrance having never been discovered by the closest investigation. Beneath, the rock has been cut away perpendicularly, so as to make all access impracticable. The façades of the two sepulchres are nearly similar, and the same singular arrangement prevails in four other tombs, about nine miles from the first, at Neksh-i-Roostem; in a mountain, called from that circumstance, The Mountain of the Tombs of the Kings.[22]

Such is the general aspect of these celebrated remains,

[20] PORTER (vol. i. p. 635) has shown that this was probably the case; and compares very aptly the account of the palace of Solomon, 1 KINGS, vii. 2, 3.

[21] The mountain is now called Rachmed.

[22] PORTER has delineated (plate xvi.) the mountain of Naksh-i-Roostem; and (plate xvii.) the lowermost of the two sepulchres, the interior of which he also explored. CHARDIN, on the other hand, has given engravings of the two monuments near Persepolis. They differ only in some unimportant particulars.

which I shall now endeavour to illustrate. The first terrace is approached by a single ascent from the west, consisting of a double staircase of blocks of marble, forming two ranges of a hundred and three steps, of such proportions, as to prepare the mind of the stranger for the colossal objects which await him; though, at the present day, a large part of the lower half of the staircase is unquestionably covered with earth.

On the first terrace, (A,) the fabulous animals which appear to guard the double portal at *c* and *d*, necessarily first attract our attention. They are of colossal proportions; twenty feet in length, and eighteen high, and stand upon a plinth five feet high; their heads and fore-quarters projecting from the rest of the body, which is cut in relievo. Many other monstrous figures are sculptured on the walls, as architectural ornaments, or as symbolical representations belonging to a mythology altogether peculiar; from which the ancient artist drew his ideas. They are all capable of being explained; but their explanation uniformly tends to show that this mythological system was of Oriental-Persian, or rather, of Bactro-Indian origin. The native land of all these chimeras is the range of mountains denominated that of Badakshan or Cashgar, (the probable abode of the old Medo-Persian race,) which separates Bactriana from Hindustan and China, and is bordered to the east and north by the desert of Cobi. It was long celebrated for its precious productions of gold and gems, and also became the scene of oriental fable, and the legendary abode of those traditionary monsters which, besides being celebrated by the Asiatic poets, have become familiar to the inhabitants of Europe.

That such was the case, we learn even from the fragments of Ctesias, in which are preserved the traditions current in Persia respecting India and the nations bordering upon it; which, though mixed up with much that was fabulous, must not be set down (as has often been done) as pure inventions of the author. The countries in question continued in his time to be the land of Persian romance; nor had any one better opportunities of collecting such legends than Ctesias, who resided so long at the court of Persia. Accordingly, he has given us a description of many of these monstrous figures almost limb for limb, and possibly

we might have found them all depicted in his writings, if these had come down to us entire. Nearly the same descriptions are repeated in the *History of Animals of Ælian*, and in his *Various History;* most of the particulars being taken from Ctesias. The elements of this mythological creation were all real animals;—the lion, the bull, the horse, the onager or wild ass, the rhinoceros, the ostrich, the eagle, and the scorpion, blended together in a variety of monstrous combinations, to which the fancy of the poet or the artist superadded a number of capricious ornaments. For this very reason it would be too much to expect that his description should tally limb for limb with the sculptures; it being sufficient if we can trace the essential characteristics of the same animal in both: the accordance in points of detail may be sometimes more and sometimes less exact, provided the figure, as a whole, belongs exclusively to the region of mythology.

The first pair of these monsters,[23] which guards the entrance at *c*, and are turned like it towards the west, have lost their heads; but as the same animal remains sculptured in various parts of the interior of the palace fighting with a lion,[24] there is no doubt that they were meant for unicorns. Ctesias has given us an account of the figure, as well as the *habitat* of this mythological animal.[25] He tells us, "That in the mountains of India the wild ass is found, which is as large and larger than a horse. His body is white, his head red, and on his forehead he has a horn an ell long, which towards the bottom is white, black in the middle, and red towards the tip. He is one of the strongest of all creatures, and so fleet that neither a horse nor any other animal is able to overtake him. When first pursued he runs leisurely, but by and by increases in speed.[26] He defends himself with his

[23] NIEBUHR, plate xx. A; LE BRUYN, table cxxii.; and PORTER, plate xxxi. The drawing given by Chardin is altogether incorrect. He has supplied the heads, which are wanting, according to his own fancy.

[24] NIEBUHR, plate xxiii.; PORTER, plate xxxv. Porter has expressly remarked (p. 598) that the drawing in plate xxxv. represents the same animal with that in plate xxxi. The only difference is in the attitude, and some of the ornaments.

[25] CTESIAS, *Ind.* cap. 25.

[26] The accuracy of this description (with the exception of the fabulous horn) is attested by the statement and drawing of PORTER, (i. p. 459, plate ii.,) who killed one of these animals in hunting. The Persian name is Goor.

horn, with his teeth, and his hoofs, and often lays prostrate many men and horses." Ælian has also given us the Indian name of the animal,[27] Kartazonon, which Tychsen pronounces to mean, the swift animal, or the swift rhinoceros.[28] Ælian's description proves that various accounts were current of the figure of this fabulous animal. He tells us that the horn is not straight but tortuous;[29] and, accordingly, many of the sculptures in the interior of the palace present this variety. Other differences will also appear on comparison and examination. The body of the animal, however, is represented not only by Chardin and Niebuhr, but by Porter, as resembling the horse, or rather the wild ass, and I cannot comprehend how the last-named traveller should insist on maintaining that it is meant for that of a bull; to which his own drawings as well as those of his predecessors bear no sort of resemblance.[30] At all events, to whatever animal the body may belong, the figure is clearly meant for a unicorn, and belongs to that fabulous class of animals from which alone (as the next description will tend to show) the figures guarding the entrances were taken. It is to be observed, that we must not confound with the above another one-horned animal with wings, occurring in the interior of the palace, and which we shall by and by have occasion to describe.

It is remarkable that the ass, which is the most tardy and most patient of all tame animals, should in its wild state be the swiftest and the most untamable. Compare the description of the chase of these animals in MORIER, *Journey*, etc. ii. p. 201.

[27] ÆLIAN, *Hist. Anim.* xvi. 20.

[28] See Appendix to the following volume.

[29] Κέρας οὐ λεῖον ἀλλ' ἑλιγμοὺς ἔχον τινάς. See PORTER, plate XXXV.

[30] Compare the figure in plate XXXV. As Sir Robert Porter adds, (in opposition to my view of the matter,) that he could not avoid recognising in this animal the bull, (see vol. i. p. 587,) it may appear presumptuous to controvert the testimony of such an eyewitness. I go, however, by his own design, which any reader may compare. At the same time I have on my side two other eyewitnesses, NIEBUHR, ii. 126, and MORIER, i. 132; neither of whom took the animal in question for a bull. The first sets it down as the unicorn so often represented here; the last notices particularly its resemblance to a horse. Neither, as far as I am aware, was the single horn ever, in the Persian mythology, attributed to the bull, or even to the primal animal of that species of the Zendavesta. If, with Porter, we consider the body and its muscles are too powerful for those of the horse or the wild ass, I should be inclined to pronounce it to be the rhinoceros rather than the bull; since I am willing to admit that the former has contributed to furnish the elements of the fabulous unicorn. Compare the statements of Tychsen in the Appendix to the following volume.

The second pair of monsters, placed at the eastern portal, (*d*,) and turned towards the mountains in the same direction, are of equally colossal stature, but of a totally different form. They are winged, have the body of lions, the feet of horses, with human heads, crowned with the tiara, or diadem, and with long beards artfully curled. This monster also was borrowed from the same mountainous country, and we are indebted for a description of it to the same author, Ctesias. It appears to be the Martichoras, or Man-eater. "There is an animal," he says, "in India, of prodigious strength, surpassing in size the largest lion, of a colour red as vermilion, with a thick coat of hair like a dog. The Indians call it Martichoras, which signifies man-devourer. Its head is unlike that of any other quadruped, and resembles the human countenance. Its feet are like those of a lion, and its tail has a sting like a scorpion's."

This description also tallies (a few points excepted) with the figure of the animal delineated. The latter has not the scorpion's tail, but this, as we shall have occasion to see when treating of the griffin, was nevertheless a part of the mythology in question. Again, the figure has the feet not of a lion, but a horse; and has wings, of which Ctesias says nothing. The essential characteristic, however, of this monster, and that which at once stamps it as such, is its human countenance, which, according to the testimony of Porter, belongs to no other of the animals represented here.[31] This convinces me that the present figure was meant for the Martichoras of Ctesias, notwithstanding some differences in the other members; which are observable also in some smaller representations of the same animal, where also it appears with a human face.[32] The name itself indicates the symbolical meaning which the form of the animal appears intended to express. Merdenkhor, or man-eater, is the term now used by the Persians to denote a daring warrior.[33] The diadem denotes unquestionably the monarch, which is confirmed by the artfully curled beard. The whole therefore appears to betoken the courage and wisdom of the king; in like manner as the unicorn was, in the East, the

[31] PORTER, vol. i. p. 592.
[32] See, for instance, NIEBUHR, table xviii.
[33] See the Appendix for the opinion of Tychsen.

symbol of strength and speed: the most appropriate decorations for the portals of an imperial palace.

A modern author, to whose works I shall frequently have occasion to refer,[34] thinks that he discovers in these chimeras the heads of the clean animals, or of the creation of Ormuzd, as opposed to that of Ahriman; and rejects my interpretation, which refers it to the Martichoras; because, as he alleges, the latter being the head or chief of the unclean animal creation, or that of Ahriman, could have no place before the entrance of a palace. But it is not the unicorn, but the bull, or the primal bull, whence come the clean animals, which is mentioned in the Zendavesta as the head of the clean creation; and the bull never is to be confounded with the unicorn. Neither, as far as I am aware, is there any mention in the same authority of any chief or head of the opposite order of animals, far less that the Martichoras was such; which indeed is never mentioned in the Zendavesta. Without inquiring whether the figures of the heads of the creation of Ormuzd were stationed at the entrance of the palace, and supposing it to have been so, it remains to be proved that there were two heads of that creation, because two pair of animals occur in the present instance; and, as Rhode himself admits, the image of the unclean race was inadmissible here.

In the space between the two portals, at *e*, formerly stood four pillars, of which only two remain. They are fluted, with capitals of a very peculiar form.[35] Whether they had any further destination we must be content to be ignorant; but the first glance suffices to show that they are as little allied to the architecture of Egypt as to that of Greece.

The remaining space of the first terrace presents nothing more for our observation, than a square cistern at *f*, hewn out of the solid rock. Such a basin, often supplied with a fountain, is of frequent occurrence in the courts of oriental palaces at the present day. The more accurate researches of Porter have proved that this cistern derived its water from a spacious tank or pond to the east of the palace, of which vestiges still remain, by means of subterraneous channels, or ducts, extended in various directions: and this

[34] RHODE, *Heilige Sage der Perser*, p. 219, sqq. [35] PORTER, plate xlv. B.

fact destroys the hypotheses which had been raised respecting the destination of those ducts.[36]

From the terrace A we ascend by the magnificent stairs at *g*, *h*, *i*, *k*, to the second terrace at B; but before examining this second platform, the steps which lead to it, and the sculptures with which the walls are decorated, demand our attention. The staircase is double, extending to the length of two hundred and twelve feet, each having a landing-place in the middle, where it turns. These stairs conduct from the court to the apartments above; and are no less worthy of admiration than the former for their grandeur and commodious construction, although towards the bottom they are encumbered with earth and rubbish. The sculptures, however, with which the sides are adorned, are their principal distinction.

On the wall which presents itself to the left of any one entering by the portico, (see *g* in the plan,) are discovered four rows of figures, one above the other, in a sort of natural disorder, and most of them, apparently, engaged in discourse. To any one acquainted with the habits of the ancient courts of the East, the situation where these figures are found, as well as their appearance, suggests at once their meaning. They are meant to represent the "Friends," or, in the language of the East, the "Kinsmen of the King," "Those who stood in the king's gates;" or, as we should express it, the courtiers and great officers of the king. According to the customs of the Persians, the majesty of the king required that a number of such courtiers should be at all times found before the gates, or in the courts and antechambers of the palace,[37] to be ready to attend the least signal of his pleasure. The artist, therefore, has only given a faithful representation of what really took place, when he has delineated them assembled in numbers and engaged in conversation; of which a nearer inspection of the individual figures will afford us still better proof.

These figures are characterized by their dress, their ornaments, and their insignia. Their dress (as the first inspec-

[36] PORTER, vol. i. 594.

[37] A clear idea of these personages may be gathered from CYROP. viii. p. 202, and several other places. They were commonly called ἔντιμοι and ὁμότιμοι, or also συγγενεῖς, which latter term did not always imply a real consanguinity with the king, but only a certain dignity. Compare ESTHER, iii. 2, 3.

tion is sufficient to prove) is twofold; some being habited in a full and ample attire; others in a lighter and closer dress. The former I suppose to be such as had received from the king the distinction of the Median dress, (a distinction represented by that of the caftan or khilat of the modern Persians,) or possibly such as by their rank or office were entitled to wear it; the others I presume to be such as had not yet attained this honour, and are consequently represented in the old Persian dress.

All that we know of the ancient Median dress tallies with that worn by the first class of figures. It was a long and loose attire, reaching to the feet, and so enveloping the figure, as to conceal its defects.[38] But it is an error to imagine that all the Persians indiscriminately adopted the garb of the vanquished. It continued, on the contrary, to be the court-dress, worn by the king, and those to whom he sent it as a mark of honour.[39] Even after the use of it became more general, it continued to be the customary mark of distinction, and in such cases was marked by its superior fineness and the beauty of its colours.

The other I consider to be the old Persian dress, which was of leather, and fitted close. "You are going to fight," says Sandanis to Crœsus,[40] "against a people that wear drawers, and all the rest of their dress of leather." The sculptor was, of course, unable to express the material of the dress; but the fashion of it coincides with the above account. The dagger also is worn, according to the Persian custom, on the right side.[41]

The head-dress differs as well as the garments. Those appareled in the Median attire wear the head-dress belonging to the same, which resembled that of the king, and, like the garments, was bestowed by him.[42] The form, it is true, does not answer to that of the Median tiara, which ended in a point. I do not pretend to solve this difficulty, but it may be observed that we have no reason for supposing the form of the Medo-Persic tiara to have continued invariable.[43]

[38] See the places collected by BRISSON, p. 544, etc.
[39] See XENOPH. *Cyrop.* viii. p. 206, 213; and several other places.
[40] HEROD. i. 71. [41] Ibid. vii. 61. [42] ESTHER, vi. 8.
[43] Most of the places bearing on this point have been collected by BRISSON, p. 61, etc. If any one will compare these with one another, and not argue from single passages, he will probably come to the same conclusion with

The customs of the East, permanent in other respects, display considerable diversity in this. Even the Sassanian princes, who usually wore a particular head-dress, did not always retain the same, as may be seen by their coins; and it may be added, that we are acquainted with the tiara of the Medes only by description, and not from any other delineation. With respect to the ancient Persian head-dress, which is here represented as a cap, we have (as far as I am aware) no information whatever.

The ornaments worn by these figures denote their high rank, and answer exactly to those worn by Persians of distinction, consisting in necklaces, armlets, and earrings. They are observed on those in Median as well as in Persian attire; and in both cases were presents from the king, and could only be worn by his permission.[44]

As for the mode of wearing the hair, when we shall have occasion to treat of the dress of the king, we shall see that this was artificial, and, in fact, a sort of peruke, which was as completely the costume of the old Persian monarchy, as of the courts of Europe in the seventeenth century.

These figures are represented as supporting various implements; some a sort of vessel, others a short staff with a round head, others different things not easy to be distinguished. The vessel appears to be either a golden cup, and as such to denote a personage privileged to sit at the king's table (one of the highest distinctions among the Persians[45]); or it is a vase containing perfumes, such as myrrh or the like; and as perfumes, as also liquids, were employed in religious rites, it may denote the relation of the bearer to the Magi, and his admission into their order; which appears the more probable from the circumstance that the king himself in other relievos is represented bearing such a vessel.

I do not believe that these vessels denoted the office of cup-bearer; though that was of the highest dignity in the Medo-Persian court.[46] The others who bear short staves, I

myself, that the fashion of the most ancient kind of tiara was not invariable. Even the Persian kings are not always represented on their darics with the *tiara recta*. See TYCHSEN, *Commentatio* I., *de Nummis Veterum Persarum, in Comment. Reg. Soc. Gott.* vol. i.

[44] XENOPH. *Cyrop.* viii. p. 224. *Anab.* i. p. 257. A multitude of other places may be found collected by BRISSON, p. 204.

[45] EZRA, iii. 3. Compare XENOPH. *Anab.* i. *Op.* p. 269. HEROD. iii. 132.

[46] XENOPH. *Cyrop. Op.* p. 10.

conceive to be the Melophori, a chosen body of the handsomest and most distinguished of the king's body-guard, who were in immediate attendance on his person, and carried, instead of a lance, a stave with a golden head, shaped like an apple.[47]

The circumstance that most of these figures are armed, has given rise to the idea that they represent the body-guard, which is contradicted by the diversity of their dresses, and the natural irregularity of their attitudes. We shall also find that the body-guard were represented in another place. It was customary among the Persians to appear armed in the king's presence;[48] as in our courts it is necessary to wear a sword. Nor are these figures completely armed, their only weapons being a dagger, (which in the East is rarely laid aside, and being often studded with precious stones, forms a principal ornament,) or a bow, enveloped in a sheath, in the same manner that Europeans wear their swords in a scabbard. Niebuhr has already shown that this sheath must not be mistaken for a shield.[49] A Persian seldom quitted his bow, as may be gathered from several passages in history; particularly from the account of the assassination of Smerdis.[50]

A difference of rank is also indicated by the different carriage of these figures towards one another. Those without the caftan, when seen in conversation with others bearing that distinction, hold their hands before their mouths, that their breath may not reach the other. Others have their hands covered by the sleeves of their robes, which also was a sign of reverence among the Persians.[51]

The wall on the right hand of the stairs at *i*, presents a totally different scene. "Here may be distinguished a long procession of men variously attired, in several rows, one above another, who appear to be ascending towards the palace, and carry a variety of things in their hands." Five or six figures, clothed alike, form a division, which is parted from the succeeding one by a large leaf by way of separation.

[47] Μηλοφόρος *(apple-bearers)*. They were selected from the guard of ten thousand immortals, (as they were styled,) and appear to have resembled, in some degree, our chamberlains. See the places collected by BRISSON, p. 270.

[48] XENOPH. *Cyrop. Op.* p. 202. [49] NIEBUHR, ii. p. 128.

[50] HEROD. iii. 78.

[51] XENOPH. *Op.* pp. 214, 215; et *Hist. Gr. Op.* p. 454.

The first of the party bears nothing, and is led by the hand by one of the officers of the court above mentioned.[52]

It is true that we possess only half of this series of figures, which unquestionably filled the upper portion of the wall also, consisting of a projecting parapet, which has now disappeared. What remains is, however, sufficient to give a clue to the meaning of the sculpture which represents the different nations of the empire, or their satraps, offering by their ambassadors their presents to the king.

According to the maxims of the East, the monarch is not only the ruler of the people, but the proprietor also of the land; and this title was anciently acknowledged, not only by the payment of certain arbitrarily imposed tributes, but by presents of the most valuable productions of each country.[53] These are made on certain solemn occasions, such as the king's birthday,[54] and, among the Persians, more especially at the beginning of their new year, which commences with the vernal equinox. The governors of the different provinces then transmit their offerings; without which an inferior cannot, in the East, present himself before a superior. The description which a modern traveller has given us of one of these feasts proves that the relievo in question has reference to some festivity like that of the new year, the origin of which is attributed by the Persians to the founder of their monarchy, Jemsheed:[55]—

"The first ceremony of the festival of Norooz," says Morier, "was the introduction of the presents from the different provinces. That from prince Hossein Ali Mirza, governor of Shiraz, came first. The master of the ceremonies walked up, having with him the conductor of the present, and an attendant, who, when the name and titles of the donor had been proclaimed, read aloud from a paper the list of the articles. The present from prince Hossein Ali Mirza consisted of a very long train of large trays placed on men's heads, on which were shawls, stuffs of all sorts, pearls, etc.; then many trays filled with sugar, and sweetmeats; after that many mules laden with fruit, etc.

[52] Chardin (table lviii.) has given a full delineation: Niebuhr (xxii. xxiii.) has only represented a part. See, however, Porter, plates xxxvii.—xliii., for the best representation.

[53] Cyrop. viii. *Op.* p. 230. [54] Plato, *Op.* ii. p. 121, ed. Steph.

[55] Morier, i. p. 207. The Persian name of this feast is Norooz.

The next present was from Mahomed Ali Khan, prince of Hamadan, the eldest born of the king's sons, but who had been deprived by his father of the succession, because the Georgian slave who bore him was of an extraction less noble than that of the mothers of the younger princes. His present accorded with the character which is assigned to him; it consisted of pistols and spears, a string of one hundred camels, and as many mules. After this came the present from the prince of Yezd, another of the king's sons, which consisted of shawls and the silken stuffs, the manufacture of his own town. Then followed that of the prince of Mesched; and last of all, and the most valuable, was that from Hajee Mohammed Hossein Khan, Ameen-ood-Doulah. It consisted of fifty mules, each covered with a fine Cashmire shawl, and each carrying a load of one thousand *tomauns*."

In like manner, it is probable that, in the relievo we are considering, the persons offering the presents are not the different nations themselves, but their governors or satraps, who offer them in their name; which, as far as the representation is concerned, amounts to the same, as the deputies and their attendants are taken from the tribe or nation they represent; and it is clear that different nations, and not different corporations, or the like, are indicated by these groups of figures, because their dresses are distinct and peculiar. Any one possessed of an accurate acquaintance with the various garbs and head attires of the East, might be able, on comparing these with the descriptions of Herodotus in his catalogue of the army of Xerxes, to illustrate many particulars, which it is hardly possible to explain without a thorough acquaintance with both these sources of information. To avoid, therefore, running into mere conjecture, I shall content myself (abstaining from too great details) with some general observations, which may suffice to show the probability of the interpretation offered.

The diversity of their dresses proves these figures to belong to different nations, and those nations situated under very different climates—very hot and very cold. One individual is wrapped in a dress of furs,[56] while another is destitute of

[56] CHARDIN, table lviii. fig. I, H.

any clothing whatever, except a light apron about the lower parts of his body.[57] The greater number wear loose and flowing garments; some on the contrary have dresses which fit their persons closely. This is the case with their trowsers also; most of which are the long and loose ἀναξυρίδες, such as Herodotus describes as the customary dress of the Medes and other nations.[58] The greatest variety, however, prevails in the head-dresses, in which the Orientals have at all times principally delighted to show their taste of splendour; but our little acquaintance with the different modes which anciently prevailed in this particular, makes it impossible to define any thing with certainty; and even the accurate designs of Porter only tend to teach us caution, proving that the head attire of those in the highest row are no longer discernible: nor can we depend upon those given by Chardin of the other rows of figures. It is true that Herodotus, in his catalogue so often referred to, is very particular in his description of this part also of the dresses of the army, but we must remember that in time of war some sort of helmet was worn by almost every nation; a dress which is not be looked for on the present occasion.

The offerings presented by the different nations may be ranged under certain general classes, consisting either of vessels of various forms and kinds, such as are now commonly used in the East; and were probably carried full of spices and other precious commodities; or different articles of dress, such as shawls, robes, or furs; or ornaments, for instance, armlets (such I conceive to be the little snakes carried by some figures[59]) and necklaces, or various implements, with the exception of weapons. Others, again, carry

[57] CHARDIN, same plate, fig. F, S. It is worthy of remark, however, that the ambassador of this tribe is completely attired, though in other instances the deputy is habited like the people. It is probable that a sense of decorum made this necessary. We may presume the Indians to be represented by these figures; which appears to be confirmed by their presents, consisting of vessels, probably filled with gold, and carried in a pair of scales; of ornaments; and of a wild ass, (an animal much sought for the royal game-parks,) which is so faithfully delineated that Porter declares it to be impossible to mistake it.

[58] NIEBUHR (p. 133) asserts that the upper row of figures, nearly effaced, are habited in lions' hides. These could hardly be others than the Ethiopians situated above Egypt, or the wild inhabitants of Nubia, who are described as thus habited as late as the catalogue of Herodotus (vii. 69).

[59] See CHARDIN, M and N.

esteemed fruits of different kinds, especially in the shape of conserves; as appears to be indicated by the form of the vessels in which they are still commonly kept in the East; while others, again, are seen leading up different animals—horses, camels, bullocks, mules, sheep, and even wild asses, tamed, and led by a halter. All these animals are represented in their natural proportions, without any monstrous or fabulous addition. The horse is sometimes figured single, sometimes yoked with another to a car. In the second row, the Median charger may be easily recognised. Each animal is evidently meant to denote a number of the same kind. Niebuhr asserts[60] that the remains of the highest row of figures contain that of a lioness, which, as well as the rest, is perfectly consistent with the manners and usages of the Orientals, and especially of the Persians; among whom wild animals, no less than tame, were customary presents to their kings. The former were kept in their parks for the chase, or even as curiosities:[61] the latter were used to breed from, as well as for show. In some satrapies, for instance that of Cilicia, a certain number of horses made part of the yearly tribute;[62] and that the other articles described are still presented as offerings, is shown by the passage of Morier giving an account of the procession of the new year.

Again, that these presents were designed for the king, and not (as Chardin and others have supposed) as offerings to any deity, is apparent from the very order of the procession. The first person in each compartment, who is obviously the deputy, carries nothing, leaving the presents to be brought up by others of his nation, who support them, according to custom, with both hands. The custom continues to be the same at Constantinople, and in all the other courts of the East.[63] Every deputy, however, is led by the hand by a master of the ceremonies, who bears a staff. This again is in accordance to the ceremonial of the Persian court, by which no one could be admitted to the presence without be-

[60] NIEBUHR, loc. cit.

[61] CTESIAS, *ap.* ÆL. iv. 21; XENOPH. *Cyrop. Op.* p. 14, etc. Compare the description of a presentation to the court of modern Persia, in KAEMPFER, *Amœnit. Exotic.* p. 216, etc.

[62] HEROD. iii. 90.

[63] For a drawing and description of this in the court of modern Persia, see CHARDIN, vol. iv. table xxxii.

ing introduced by one of these ushers, who were distinguished by the rods or staves they carried, and thence termed by the Greeks σκηπτοῦχοι, stave or sceptre bearers.[64] In other respects their dress resembles that of the other courtiers, except that they appear alternately in the Median and the Persian attire, their badge of office being the sceptre or rod.

The number of the groups is made by Porter to amount to twenty, if we include two not represented in the drawing. This appears strictly conformable to the twenty satrapies, into which Darius Hystaspis divided his empire; at the same time we cannot identify the satrapies represented, because we are not entitled to suppose them to stand in the same order in which they are described by Herodotus; but we at least learn that the sculpture must be assigned to the reign of that monarch. In this respect it is highly deserving of remark, that not only are the Median and Persian dresses worn by the courtiers indiscriminately, but the habits of the masters of the ceremonies, or ushers, regularly alternate from Median to Persian, and vice versâ. Does not this confirm the idea that the whole sculpture belongs to the age of the Medo-Persian dynasty?

I must close this account of the relievos, with the remark, that the place assigned to each appears to have been chosen designedly, so as to place the representation of the court on the left hand (that is, the side of honour[65]) of any one entering, and the images of those bearing presents on the right hand, or the less honourable place: an arrangement which can scarcely have been the effect of chance. And it may be asked, what more appropriate subjects could have been selected to decorate the walls of this palace? what could have been devised more simple, and at the same time more expressive?

Along the steps of each staircase is disposed a line of armed men; so that a man is assigned to each. Their position, as well as the circumstance of their being armed, proves them to be the king's body-guard; of whom those stationed on the right, at *k*, where the procession is repre-

[64] See the authorities cited by Brisson, p. 309, sqq. Cyrus had three hundred of these court attendants. Xenoph. p. 215.

[65] Agreeably to the customs of the East, Xenoph. *Cyrop. Op.* p. 220. The custom (as Xenophon shows in the place quoted) arose from this, that the left is the unguarded side, and therefore that of confidence.

sented, are in full costume, as if to do honour to the solemnity. They wear the Median accoutrements and head-dress, but without necklaces or other ornaments borne by the courtiers, and support with both hands a long lance, grounded before them in the earth. Behind them are suspended their quivers, and their bows, without a sheath, are passed over at the left shoulder. The soldiers on the left hand, at *g h*, are more simply attired and armed, bearing only the lance, without any bow or quiver; and their heads merely bound about with a fillet. All this corresponds with the usages of the Persian court, where the king's body-guard formed a privileged and numerous class of soldiers, styled by the Greeks *doryphori*, or lance-men. Some authors have made them the same with the ten thousand immortals, but this needs confirmation. It was their office to guard all the approaches to the palace; and they probably received from Cyrus himself the right of wearing the Median attire, in which they are represented, as they ranked above all other classes of soldiers.

At the same time it is evident, from the descriptions of the Greeks, that there existed also other troops, the *aichmophori*, or pike-men, distinct from the former; but whether this distinction has been observed in the instance before us, and the soldiers on the right hand, armed only with the spear, be meant to represent this body of troops, is what I do not pretend to determine.[66]

In the upper portion of the wall we observe four times repeated the sculpture of a lion in the act of rending a unicorn. Are we to suppose this a mere capricious decoration, or as expressive of a symbolical meaning? I should lean to the former opinion, if it appeared that the combats of wild beasts were a favourite pastime among the Persians, as they were with the Romans; but, notwithstanding the devotion of their monarchs to the chase, we can discover no traces of this pastime in their annals. It is probable, therefore, that these figures had a deeper meaning. We have already had occasion to remark, that the unicorn seems to have been adopted by the Persians as the emblem of speed and strength. If, in like manner, we suppose the lion to

[66] See the places quoted by BRISSON, pp. 270, 280.

be the symbol of sovereignty, as it appears to have been both in the East and the West, with an especial reference to the Persian power, the whole device may be fairly interpreted to mean, that nothing, however strong, was capable of resisting the might of the Persian monarch and his empire. If the unicorn had been meant to denote some particular kingdom, (for instance, the Babylonian, as Porter supposes,) what reason could be alleged for a fourfold repetition of the same emblems, instead of the representation of other kingdoms also? Still less can I imagine these figures designed to typify the triumph of the good over the evil principle, because we have no reason to suppose the unicorn was ever assumed as the emblem of the latter.

The staircases referred to, lead to the second great terrace, (B,) which must once have presented a most magnificent spectacle, from the grandeur and splendour of the edifices it supported. "Nothing," says Porter, "can be more striking than the view of its ruins; so vast and magnificent, so fallen, mutilated, and silent: the court of Cyrus, and the scene of his bounties; the pavilion of Alexander's triumph, and, alas! the awful memorial of the wantonness of his power."[67] The first object which anciently presented itself to the observer was a columned hall of the largest size, surrounded on both sides and in front by others of smaller dimensions. Each of these subordinate apartments was supported by twelve columns, and the great central one by six and thirty. The columns of the inferior halls were sixty, those of the principal fifty-five feet in height. They are all fluted, and surmounted by capitals formed into the shape of the heads of horses, or, according to Porter, of bulls,[68] placed neck to neck, but so as to leave a space or hollow between them. The accurate researches of Porter have proved that these crevices were meant to support beams, and that the pillars upheld a roof, possibly of cedar, to serve as a protection against the heat of the sun. The same was

[67] According to Porter, this platform extends three hundred and fifty feet from north to south, and three hundred and eighty feet from east to west. PORTER, vol. i. p. 631.

[68] PORTER, i. plate xlv. A. I cannot conceive how Sir Ker Porter could discover in these heads also a resemblance to those of bulls. Not only have they no horns, but the head, shoulders, and hoof, are clearly those of a horse, and even the reins are marked.

probably effected on the sides by means of veils or hangings, as would appear from a passage in the book of Esther:[69] "Where were white, green, and blue hangings, fastened with cords of fine linen and purple to silver rings and pillars of marble: the beds were of gold and silver, upon a pavement of red, and blue, and white, and black marble."

Of these beds, or rather seats, no remains exist, but we must not pass unobserved an interesting remark of Porter. He noticed that the pedestals of the twelve central columns of the great hall are higher by some feet than the rest, and appear to prove that a sort of *dais* anciently stood there, which was probably meant to support the throne of the king. Not only have we reason, from general custom, to conclude that the throne was thus elevated, but we shall be convinced that such was the case in the court of Persia in particular.

There can be no doubt as to the destination of this colonnade; which is clearly proved not only by its position and character, but by the very decorations of the staircases. It was the hall of audience, the scene of great national solemnities; where the king, seated on his throne, was accustomed to receive the offerings of his tributaries. The eyes of those who approached were prepared by the appropriate emblems on the walls for the scene which awaited them, and the majesty of these stately columns must have filled every one with awe, even before they were admitted to the presence of the monarch in all his magnificence.

In like manner, in the other buildings of this as well as of the third terrace, it is from the decorations on the walls that we must principally form our notions of their destination; and, following the simple line of interpretation which we have already found confirmed, namely, that the ornaments have a reference to the destination of the building, (which they appear, as it were, graphically to demonstrate,) we shall be able to form a probable conjecture.[70]

The most spacious and splendid of the buildings which remain to be described, is also situated on the second ter-

[69] i. 6. A delineation of such a colonnade in front of the palace of Ispahan, may be seen in CHARDIN, ii. table xxxix.

[70] The same custom still prevails in Persia, only that the art of painting has taken the place of sculpture. The paintings in the halls of the great palace at Ispahan represent sometimes the great festivals of the court (MORIER, i. 165); sometimes the likenesses of the king (PORTER, i. 304).

race, at *r*, between the colonnades and the mountain where the two tombs are found. It forms a square, two hundred and ten feet long and wide; having on each side two entrances, adorned with relievos. The northern entrances (M. M.) being wider than the rest, appear to have been the principal. Before each is placed, as a sentinel or guard, a colossal monster, such as we have described, but exceedingly mutilated. Both are turned towards the north. At the distance of two hundred and seventy feet from these, in the opposite direction, and only ten feet from each other, are two others, (at *u*,) forming the great portal by which access was gained into the court before the edifice. The relievos above the principal entrances are the same, and afford a clue to the destination of the edifice.[71] The king is here represented in grand costume, in the act of giving audience to an ambassador. He is seated on a throne, with a footstool of gold at his feet, which was always borne after him;[72] his golden sceptre in his right hand; and in his left the sacred vase or cup Havan,[73] used in sacrifices, and betokening a worshipper of Ormuzd. Close behind him stands a eunuch, (recognised as such by the feminine character of his dress and figure,) bearing a fan, and with his mouth covered; and behind the latter the king's armour-bearer, with his dagger and his bow in a sheath.[74] Both descriptions of body-guards are here represented in their different costumes, the Persian and Median, with their full accoutrements. They are disposed in five rows, one above the other, each row consisting of ten men, standing, it is probable, in the same order in which they were actually arranged.[75] Immediately before the king are placed two costly vessels, probably for the purpose of burning incense; and behind these the deputy or ambassador to whom au-

[71] See NIEBUHR, table xxix.; CHARDIN, table lxiii.

[72] Properly speaking this was not a throne, but a simple chair, or δίφρος, high enough to admit of the use of a footstool, ὑποπόδιον. It was of gold, and adorned with a costly carpet, and no one but the king might sit thereon on pain of death. See the authorities collected by BRISSON, p. 102, etc. It is often represented among these sculptures, and always such as we have described. See ESTHER, v. 1, 2.

[73] *Zendavesta*, iii. 204. Xerxes made libations from it to the sun, and cast it into the sea, as an expiatory offering. HEROD. vii. 54.

[74] That the weapons are the king's, is proved by the fact that the armour-bearer has also his own dagger.

[75] PORTER, i. plate xlix.; see also his description.

dience is given. He is represented in converse, but in the respectful attitude in which the monarch was always approached; his hand before his mouth, to prevent his breath offending the king's majesty. Behind him is another eunuch, holding a vase. Every thing bespeaks grandeur and magnificence. The mural decorations above the canopy contain the emblems of a lion and unicorn; the whole enclosed within a border of roses, admirably carved.

The observations already made sufficiently prove, that the seated figure can be no other than the king; but if this were doubtful, it would be proved by a remark which I am the more disposed to make, as it carries us back to the most remote period of Persian antiquities.

As often as the person of the king occurs in these sculptures, he is represented as of a stature considerably more elevated than his subjects. "As often as Cyrus appeared in public," says Xenophon,[76] "his chariot was driven by a charioteer of lofty stature, but who was still inferior to the king." To assist this national prejudice, the kings of Persia wore a peculiar sort of shoe, intended to give them additional height.[77] It may be added, that the monarch is here represented in full costume, his tiara and armlets even bearing traces of having been once overlaid with gold, and we may here particularly remark the artificial head of hair, and the fashion of the beard.[78] We have already observed that the hair appears to be a peruke, consisting of a multitude of curls: as for the beard, the excessive attention which the modern Persians pay to the growth of theirs, makes it doubtful whether we must consider this natural or artificial, but it is evident that the form, at least of those in the sculptures, has been modified by art. The representation of the king's household and his body-guard prove that all these particulars were prescribed by court etiquette.

The figures referred to are placed above the principal

[76] XENOPH. *Cyrop.* viii.; *Op.* p. 215. [77] Ibid. loc. cit. p. 206.

[78] The most accurate delineation on a large scale of this style of wearing the hair is to be found in MORIER, ii. plate i. The beard was sometimes even worn in a case, MORIER, ii. p. 32. The Persians still evince the same devotion to their beards, but perukes are utterly unknown. The circumstance of an Englishman taking off his, caused on one occasion considerable alarm, MORIER, i. p. 60. Artificial head-dresses, however, appear to have been at one time extensively used in Southern Asia. Niebuhr describes them as found in the sculptures of the cave of Elephanta.

entrance, by which the ambassador must have been introduced as he came from the colonnades. At the postern entrance, *n n*, is another relievo, which also is capable of being very readily explained.[79] We no longer discover the ambassador, but only the king, seated, as before, on his throne. This throne, however, appears to be supported by three rows of human figures, one above the other, with uplifted arms, in the attitude of caryatides. They all differ in attire and head-dress, and were evidently designed to represent so many distinct nations, and the whole to have been meant as emblematical of the grandeur of the empire and the majesty of the king. I do not attempt to identify the different nations, fourteen in number, which appear to be thus typified: their dresses, however, resemble those of the grand procession already described, and, possibly, if we possessed both series entire, might be found to be identical. Two remarks, however, I cannot forbear making. I. The figure which comes first is habited in the full Median dress; a proof that the Medes were accounted the principal nation, though, like all the rest, they were the servants of the king. II. Niebuhr assures us that in one of the figures of the lower row may be distinctly traced the peculiar profile and the woolly hair of a negro.[80] It would appear, as if for the purpose of placing before the spectator a sensible proof of the extent and magnitude of the monarch's power, the most distinguished and the most remote nations of this empire had been selected; and at the same time we have a proof that these sculptures could only have been designed after that dominion had been extended beyond Egypt.

What an idea does this give us of the degree of communication subsisting among the most ancient nations of the old world, when we thus find, among the earliest monuments of Eastern Asia, the representations of the tribes of Central Africa!

Over the figure of the king hovers another, nearly resembling him in its upper portions, but furnished with wings, and having its lower members concealed by a garment not unlike a farthingale. It is the feroer, or ferooher, the archetype or spirit either of the king himself or Zoroaster,

[79] NIEBUHR, table XXX.; CHARDIN, table lxiv.; PORTER, i. plate 1.
[80] NIEBUHR, ii. 147. See PORTER, ii. 670.

respecting which we shall have occasion to speak at greater length when we come to the sepulchral remains. The circumstance of its accompanying the king during his lifetime proves that it does not denote a departed spirit; and its appearance on the dwellings of the living as well as on the abodes of the dead is important, as marking in both places the prevalence of the religion of Zoroaster.

In the interior of the edifice are certain large and highly finished niches; such as are seen at the present day, only of smaller dimensions, in the palaces of Persia; being designed to contain bouquets of different kinds of flowers, particularly roses, the favourite and as it were national flower of Persia.[81]

The four side entrances, *o o* and *p p*, are adorned with other sculptures, representing the king engaged in conflict with a wild animal. The human character of the figure proves that it is meant for the king, and not for a being of a higher order, an Amshaspand for example; because the Persian artists never represented superior beings without some external indication, such as wings. The wild animals are in the act of rearing themselves on their hind legs against the king, who in each instance seizes them by the horn with his left hand, while with his right he plunges a dagger into their breast. The first is a griffin;[82] the second and third resemble the first; the fourth appears to be a lion.

The fiction of the existence of griffins was not only common to all Asia, but even in ancient times extended to Europe also. Here, however, the monster is represented in his original form, and we are also enabled to trace his proper country, which, like the other chimeras we have had occasion to notice, was the Bactro-Indian mountains, and their adjacent desert, where gold was found. Fortunately we derive not only these particulars, but an exact description of the creature, such as it is portrayed in the relievo before us, from the remains of Ctesias. "The griffin," says Ælian,[83]

[81] PORTER, i. 671. He describes a rose bush covered with innumerable blossoms, and fourteen feet high, p. 337. Can we be surprised to find this flower introduced as an ornament in almost every relievo?

[82] PORTER, i. plates lii. liii. liv.

[83] ÆLIAN. *Hist. Anim.* iv. p. 26. CHARDIN gives a representation which NIEBUHR omits; but the more accurate one is that of PORTER, plate lii. For the name griffin see TYCHSEN, in the Appendix, who proves that the Greek γρυψ was of Persian origin, which appears to be the case also with the German *greif*.

copying the author just mentioned, "is a quadruped of India, having the claws of a lion, and wings upon his back. His fore-parts are red, his wings white, his neck blue; his head and his beak resemble those of the eagle; he makes his nest among the mountains, and haunts the deserts, where he conceals his gold." The description is so exact that it is unnecessary to compare it in detail with the sculpture: it would almost appear as if he had seen the relievo, or as if the artist had copied his description. The only addition made by the latter is that of a horn, the symbol of strength.

The other animal[84] has not been described by any ancient author; it is, however, so closely allied to the foregoing, as to be evidently a creature of the same fiction. Its body and claws, like those of the former, resemble a lion's; like the former, it has wings; its head and tail alone being different. The head and mouth are those of a lion, and its tail that of a scorpion. It is evidently compounded of the other fabulous animals, without the addition of any new effort of the fancy. We have already shown that the scorpion tail formed a part of the attributes of the monstrous creation of the Bactro-Indian mythology, as we learn from Ctesias, who mentions it as belonging to the Martichoras, contrary to what we observe in the sculptures of that animal at Persepolis;[85] either because the artist followed his own fancy, or because the fables to which he adhered were different from those which have reached us. The third figure is a repetition of the same, but without wings; having, however, feathers, but wanting the scorpion tail.[86] The fourth, differing altogether from the preceding, has only been figured by Niebuhr,[87] (Porter not even mentioning it,) and appears to be a young lion, which the king rather presses to him than combats. I cannot (as Rhode[88] does) interpret it to be a hound or dog, which the king takes under his protection, as a sacred animal; but as the delinea-

[84] A representation of this creature is to be found in NIEBUHR, loc. cit., as well as in LE BRUYN, KÄMPFER, and PORTER, vol. i. plate liii. CHARDIN has not given it.

[85] On this account, RHODE, p. 225, thinks he discovers in this animal the Martichoras. It wants, however, the essential characteristic, the human countenance.

[86] PORTER, plate liv.

[87] NIEBUHR, table XXV. D.

[88] RHODE, p. 226.

tion is too imperfect to enable me to offer any thing certain, I shall confine my observations to the three preceding.

What, then, is the design of these figures? were they meant merely as ornaments, or do they contain a symbolical meaning? My first idea was that the artist meant only to represent the king as a bold and successful hunter; and certainly much might be said in favour of this interpretation. It is in perfect accordance with the habits of the East, where the chase and war are pursuits held in equal honour, and where the former is looked upon as an image of and preparation for the latter, and not unfrequently, with oriental princes, thought to demand no less preparations. This was especially the case with the Persians, who appear, when at the period of their highest civilization, never to have lost the recollections of their earlier habits, but at all times to have esteemed the chase one of their principal luxuries. For proof of this it is only necessary to refer to the descriptions of the Cyropædia, or even to the inscription on the tomb of Darius Hystaspis: "Among the hunters I bore the palm: what I would that I could."[89]

The simplicity of the delineation also favours this interpretation. No trace is to be seen of artificial or difficult positions: in every instance the animal rears himself on his hind legs against the king, who seizes it by the ear or by the horn, and drives a dagger into its chest. The dress too of the king differs from the state attire which we have been considering: he neither wears the tiara, nor the flowing upper garment of the Medes; nor, on the other hand, is he portrayed in armour, (as would surely have been the case had it been the object to represent him as victorious over an enemy,) but he appears in a tunic without sleeves, as would of course be the case in hunting.

In renouncing, however, this opinion, I am principally influenced by the circumstance, that the animals in question are not real but fabulous monsters, which appear always to have had an allegorical meaning. The sculpture also itself contradicts the above interpretation: for it is a combat, not a chase; and the animal is despatched with a dagger, not attacked with weapons appropriate to hunting.

[89] STRABO, p. 1062.

Supposing, however, an allegory to be designed, we are still left to inquire whether its meaning was historical or religious. Those who incline to the former opinion, conceive that the monsters in question denote conquered kingdoms, in the same manner that the beasts described by the prophet Daniel betokened the four monarchies. But we have no proof that the countries conquered by the Persians were ever typified by such symbols; and, besides, we recognise in these chimeras the essential characteristics of one and the same, the griffin, modified only in some of its inferior members; whereas if different kingdoms had been designed, they would surely have been expressed by different symbols.

We are compelled, therefore, to have recourse to a mixed interpretation, partly religious and partly political. The king, as a servant of Ormuzd, was in duty bound to wage war against the unclean creation of Ahriman.[90] Among these was numbered the griffin. These creatures were believed to infest the desert, to be the guardians of concealed gold, (as Herodotus informs us,) and were formidable to such as sought it. They were also the symbolical emblems of the deevs, or evil genii of the kingdom of Ahriman. The king, therefore, as a servant of Ormuzd, is represented as attacking in these creatures the powers of Ahriman, or of darkness. It must be remarked, that these conflicts of the king with the animals sacred to Ahriman, have nothing in common with the conflicts between the lion and unicorn, so often repeated on the stairs, and described above.

As the decorations on the walls prove that this great edifice was destined for the reception of deputies and ambassadors, so we cannot fail to observe how suitable it was in all its arrangements and decorations for such a purpose. Every thing was calculated to fill the mind with a feeling of awe, and a sense of grandeur. This was the impression excited by the colossal animals which guarded the entrance: while the interior of the edifice revealed the king as the master of many nations, who were represented supporting his throne; at the same time that he was portrayed as the servant of the deity whose commands he fulfilled. Thus even the subordinate decorations harmonized with the general scope and

[90] See in the following section the account of the tenets of Zoroaster.

design of the edifice, which was intended to express by sensible images the greatness and the piety of the monarch.

Next come the buildings which occupy the platform of the third terrace, C; one of which being situated on higher ground than the other, has led Porter to speak of a fourth and fifth terrace. Not only their position, but their internal character and decorations tend to show that these were, to take the word in its widest signification, the inhabited apartments of the palace. They were approached through the colonnades, and thus lay behind the piazzas, where the ministers and grandees of the court were stationed. They consist of four or five edifices, constructed without any uniform plan, and seemingly at different periods, as seems to be especially proved by the style of building observable in that at *t*, which appears considerably older than the rest.[91] As they are all more or less in ruins, it is impossible to give a detailed account of them, though many particulars may be asserted with confidence.

That this was the king's own residence, and not designed for the ministers of religion or the officers of the court, as some have imagined, is proved by the perpetual occurrence of the figure of the monarch in a variety of attitudes; to be recognised not only by his insignia, but by his superior size and stature. He is represented on many of the internal doorways, not in a sitting but a walking attitude: behind him are two attendants, both about a head shorter than himself, one bearing a fan or fly-chaser, the other an umbrella, signs, in Persia, of royal dignity.[92] The style of these figures is on the whole the same, the only difference being that which occasionally occurs in the implements borne by the king, which, however, is almost always the sacred vessel.[93] The form of this vessel continues always the same, whether in the hands of the king or of his courtiers, and so evidently resembles the lotus, a plant esteemed sacred throughout all the East, that we cannot but conclude

[91] For this remark we are indebted to NIEBUHR, p. 142; with whom PORTER coincides.

[92] See XENOPH. *Cyrop.* viii. p. 241, for a proof that these luxuries of a warm climate were in use among the Persians. PORTER, i. p. 657, shows that the umbrella continues to be a mark of royal dignity in Persia.

[93] Compare CHARDIN, table lxii., and NIEBUHR, table xxv. *c*, where, at *f g h*, the different implements are represented.

its form to have been borrowed from that of the flower. It is probably the sacred cup Havan, of which mention is so often made in the Zendavesta,[94] and which was necessary to the libations accompanying the daily prayers of the followers of Zoroaster.[95] When we reflect that the whole private life of the Persian monarchs was regulated by a system of the most rigid etiquette, we cannot perhaps form a nearer guess as to the design of these sculptures than by supposing them to contain a complete delineation of the same, agreeably to the precepts of the Magi, the monarch being represented as a servant of Ormuzd engaged in the various offices of his civil and religious station. We shall have occasion to see that each representation was in accordance with the design of the building where it is found. At the entrances are usually posted two of the body-guard, in Median attire; and combats of wild animals already described are not unfrequently found there.

But before we arrive at the rest of the edifices, the way lies over a space,[96] at present destitute of any building, (see Z in the plan,) but which is covered with heaps of what are apparently the remains of former structures. And here we must not omit to mention a very probable and ingenious conjecture of the most recent traveller in Persia, whom we so often have had occasion to cite. Porter surmises that "this was the site of the true palace of Persepolis destroyed by Alexander." By the term palace, must be understood the building destined, according to the customs of the Persians, for the entertainment of the grandees of the court, on occasions of solemn festivals.[97] That such was the custom of the court of Persia, there is no question: "In the third year of his reign the king Ahasuerus made a feast unto all his princes and his servants; the power of Persia and Media, the nobles and the princes of the provinces, being before him: when he showed the riches of his glorious kingdom and the honour of his excellent majesty many days, even a hundred and fourscore days."[98] It would be superfluous to cite other instances. Now, the existing re-

[94] Zendavesta, i. 143, 221; ii. 231, etc. [95] See above, p. 114.

[96] PORTER, i. p. 646, states its length to amount to three hundred and fifteen feet.

[97] "Banqueting-house," as Porter terms it. [98] ESTHER, i. 3, 4.

mains prove that here once stood an edifice of great extent, and the situation of the surrounding ruins show that no place more proper could have been selected for the purpose we imagine. In front of it were the state apartments, and behind it, as we shall see, the private residence of the king; from which he could conveniently pass to the one or the other. What situation more appropriate could have been selected? Again, supposing that such was the destination of the building, what place more fitting for the celebration of the triumphal feast of Alexander? And this will explain the fact, that the edifice has ceased to exist; this being the portion of the palace which was consumed by the flames of that Bacchanal feast; and if the entablatures and roof, as Curtius assures us, were of cedar, the flames would find abundant materials[99] to feed on. The other edifices were left standing, and we have no reason to be surprised that they betray no marks of having been destroyed by fire.

It may be reasonably expected that future excavations will tend to confirm this hypothesis, and Porter complains, with reason, of the British residents at the court of Persia, who with ample opportunities have neglected to promote such researches. At present this "ruinous heap" is overspread with grass, which covers the scene of the magnificence and pride of the conquerors and lords of the world, whose name once filled all the regions of the East!

By this scene of desolation we arrive at the largest of all the buildings, that at Y, belonging to the third terrace. It once formed a square peristyle or court, every side of which was ninety feet in length; the roof being supported by thirty-six pillars in six rows, and the entrances being two antechambers to the east and west, surrounded by many other apartments. It can scarcely be doubted that this was the private residence of the king. His figure appears repeatedly on the walls, surrounded by his customary attendants; and the sculptures on the windows of two of the chambers appear to prove that they were banqueting apartments. The figures of three court attendants are often repeated, the foremost of whom carries a skin of wine; the next a vessel in which victuals are even now commonly

[99] CURTIUS, v. 7.

served up in the East; and the third another vessel, or cup, with a cover.[100] Art has done all it could to record, even on the ruins of these structures, their former destination.

It would be a vain attempt to endeavour to ascertain the design of all the other edifices, distinguished only by their ruins. That at S appears to resemble the others already described in magnitude and arrangement. Was this the harem, or, as it is called in the book of Esther,[1] the queen's house? This we must leave to conjecture. The smaller square structure, however, at W affords proof of having been designed for religious purposes. At all the four entrances the king is represented in a walking attitude, and as of superior stature to those around him, carrying in his left hand a staff with a golden head or knob, in his right the sacred cup. Behind him come his attendants with the umbrella and fan, or fly-chaser. These are the decorations of the entrances. In the interior, he is represented seated on his throne, attended only by the fan-bearer; the umbrella, as no longer necessary under a roof, having disappeared. At the entrance, however, as well as in the interior, the monarch is accompanied by the ferooher or spirit, which hovers above him and marks him as a servant of Ormuzd. No guards are to be seen, being inappropriate to a place of worship; but in the centre of the edifice are four detached columns, which can hardly have been meant for any other purpose than that of surrounding the altar of the sacred fire. The conjecture, therefore, of Porter,[2] that this was the sanctuary or place of worship, becomes highly probable, and we may conceive that the king here presented, according to the precepts of the Magi, his daily prayers and offerings; the position of the building, as well as its structure, appearing to indicate this; being only a few steps removed from the apartments of the monarch.

The inscriptions on these ruins, no less than the sculptures, have long attracted general attention. They are scattered in various directions; and, first of all, at the extremities of the staircase leading to the second terrace, near the figures of the monsters engaged in conflict. Secondly, on the walls and windows of the interior, generally accom-

[100] PORTER, i. plate xlvii. [1] ESTHER, ii. 9, 14. [2] PORTER, i. p. 660.

panying the figure of the king;[3] and making it probable (in conformity with the general disposition of the edifice) that they relate to him. But the unknown languages in which these inscriptions are couched, and the mysterious character in which they are traced, have involved them in an obscurity, which long appeared impenetrable. Accordingly, when these essays first appeared nothing could be advanced respecting them with any show of certainty; but since that time the unwearied spirit of research, which characterizes the age, has so far pushed its inquiries, that we are enabled at least to conjecture the general scope and design of these records, though much uncertainty must still attach to them in detail. No commentator, for instance, doubts that they are composed in three distinct sets of characters, all comprehended under the general term of the arrow-headed or cuneiform characters; because all the letters have been carved of a wedge-shaped form.[4] The simplest and most ancient style evidently is an alphabetical mode of writing, and the second table of inscriptions of M. Grotefend (see the Appendix) prove that the same is true of the second, and even of the third; which had appeared the most doubtful. These three alphabets prove the inscriptions to have been originally composed in three different languages, which is rendered still more certain by the discovery that the middle one contains a verbal repetition of the first.

[3] PORTER, i. p. 654.

[4] As it is to a German that we are indebted for an authentic copy of these inscriptions; a praise which belongs to Niebuhr, (though now to be shared with Porter,) notwithstanding all which has been done by Chardin, Le Bruyn, and Kaempfer; so it is to another German that we owe the best attempt at their interpretation. See GROTEFEND, in the *Gött. gel. Anz.* 1802, pp. 149—178; and 1803, pp. 60—117. I do not mean to express my preference for this interpretation merely because it is in accordance with my own opinions respecting these edifices, (my opinions resting on grounds independent of his researches,) but because, apart from all philological reasons, he appears best to have seized the true spirit of the East, and apprehended the real design of these structures. Niebuhr tells us that we must here only look for the titles and names of the kings; and are not these titles in perfect accordance with the manners and religion of the Persians? We find the same occurring at a later period, in the inscription (respecting which there is no question) of their successors and imitators, the Sassanian princes, and, in like manner, disposed above their images. I forbear to enlarge upon this subject at present; reserving it for the Appendix to the second volume. Nor is it necessary to refer to the *Tentamen Palæographiæ* of the late M. LICHTENSTEIN, who has been convicted of the radical fault of reading these inscriptions in the wrong direction.

As far as relates to the first,[5] all interpreters are agreed that it is composed in the old Median language, or the Zend, which continued to be at all times the sacred language of the Magi. Those of the second class appear to be composed in the Pehlvi dialect; and if the opinion be correct that those of the third are in the Assyrian or Babylonian speech, we shall have detected remains of the three principal languages of the Persian empire, which were also the prevailing dialects in the capitals, which at stated periods were the successive residences of the monarchs; the Median being spoken at Ecbatana; the Pehlvi at Susa; and the Assyrian (an Aramaic dialect) in Babylon. All the inscriptions which have been hitherto explained are found to relate to Darius and Xerxes: to the first those designated in Niebuhr by the letters B,[6] H,[7] and I; to the latter those marked A[8] and G.[9]

So far we have endeavoured to become acquainted with the palace of the Persian rulers; but close beside the abodes of the living are the receptacles of the dead. The examination of the latter is rendered still more important by the fact, that they may tend to fix the era to which the former monuments belong, if it should be proved that they relate to the period of the ancient Persians, and contain the remains of the successors of Cyrus. Fortunately we possess in the fragments of Ctesias sufficient evidence to make such a conclusion extremely probable.

It is proved by the concurrent testimony of ancient au-

[5] See NIEBUHR, table xxiv. A, B, G; table xxxi. H, I; for the second, see D, F, K: for the third, C, E, L. See the Appendix for the remarks of M. Grotefend.

[6] Table xxiv. According to Grotefend they signify: "Darius the valiant king, the king of kings, the son of Hystaspis, the successor of the ruler of the world, in the constellation of Moro." See GROTEFEND, *Gött. gel. Anz.* 1802, p. 149.

[7] Table xxxi. According to Grotefend: "Darius the monarch, the valiant king, the king of kings, the king of all the zealous, (or believers,) the successor of the ruler of the world, Jemsheed." *Gött. gel. Anz.* 1803, p. 117. The interpretation of I has not yet been given.

[8] Table xxiv. According to Grotefend: "Xerxes the monarch, the valiant king, the king of kings, the king of all pure nations, the king of the pure and of the pious, the most potent assembly, the son of Darius the king, the descendant of the lord of the universe, Jemsheed." *Gött. gel. Anz.* 1803, p. 117.

[9] According to Grotefend: "Xerxes the valiant king, the king of kings, the son of Darius the king, the successor of the ruler of the world." *Gött. gel. Anz.* 1802, p. 149.

thors that the remains of the old monarchs of Persia were interred, not burnt,[10] which would have been contrary to the laws of Zoroaster, as tending to desecrate the sacred element of fire; nor yet were they previously exposed to ravenous animals, as was prescribed by the precepts of the Magi.[11] The place, however, where the bodies of the deceased monarchs were deposited was by no means a matter of indifference, but, wherever they might chance to die, it was esteemed a religious duty to remove their remains for interment to their native country, or Persis properly so called. This is expressly recorded of most of the kings of Persia, and must be concluded to have been the case with the rest. The body of Cyrus was conveyed by the eunuch Bagapates, according to the command of Cambyses, into Persia, not however to Persepolis, but to Pasargada; where Alexander saw his tomb still remaining.[12] His successors, however, were interred at Persepolis and the neighbouring Neksh-i-Roostem. The body of Cambyses was transported thither by Ixetas.[13] Darius Hystaspis caused his own monument to be erected there in his lifetime:[14] respecting Xerxes nothing is recorded, but the remains of his son Artaxerxes were conveyed thither with those of his queen;[15] and the body of his son, Xerxes II., who was slain after five and forty days' reign, overtook them while yet upon the road.[16] Concerning Artaxerxes III., history tells us that his body failed of being deposited here only in consequence of a change.[17] The custom continued to the end of the Persian dynasty, as the same honour was paid, by the command of Alexander, to the remains of the last Darius.[18] It cannot be doubted, therefore, that the kings of Persia were buried in Persis properly so called, and Diodorus points out to us the very situation of their tombs. He tells us, (after an admirable account of the palace of Persepolis,[19]) "That eastward of the city, at the distance of four hundred feet, is a mountain called the king's mountain, in which the graves of the kings are situated. The rock there

[10] See the places collected by BRISSON, loc. cit. p. 320, etc.
[11] HEROD. i. 140; iii. 16. See also KLEUKER'S *Anhang zum Zendavesta*, B. ii. Th. iii. s. 21.
[12] CTESIAS, *Pers.* cap. 9. [13] Ibid. 13. [14] Ibid. 15.
[15] Ibid. 44. [16] Ibid. 45. [17] ÆLIAN. *Var. Hist.* vi. 8.
[18] ARRIAN. iii. 22. JUSTIN. xi. 15. [19] DIODORUS, ii. 215.

is hewn into a multitude of chambers, which are not to be approached by any entrances made by art, but the coffins are wound up and introduced into the receptacles by means of machines."

The description, both as regards the situation and the character of these monuments, tallies so exactly with the tombs of the kings situated near Chehl-Menâr, that no doubt can exist respecting their identity. The distance from the ruins of the palace is precisely the same, and the remarks already made prove that the character of the structure corresponds with the account given by the historian.

To this account of Diodorus must be added the testimony of a contemporary author, which throws so much light on the monuments of Persepolis, that I cannot forbear giving it entire. Ctesias[20] tells us, that "Darius, the son of Hystaspis, commanded a tomb to be prepared for himself during his lifetime, in the double mountain,[21] which was accordingly undertaken; but when he desired to see it himself, he was prevented by the Chaldæans and by his parents. His parents, however, having desired to ascend to see it, the priests who drew them up were seized with alarm, and let go the ropes, and his parents fell down and were killed. Darius was greatly afflicted at this, and cut off the heads of those who had wound them up, being in number forty persons."[22]

The expression, "in the double mountain," is obscure: can it be meant to express the crescent-like shape of the hill, branching out into two arms, from between which project the ruins of Chehl-Menâr? Or did Ctesias write, the *inaccessible* mountain?[23] Whatever may be the case, the mountain is clearly that called by Diodorus the king's mountain, as is shown by his description which follows, and which clearly refers to a monument of the same description with the tombs of Chehl-Menâr.

In this mountain are discovered two spacious façades of sepulchral monuments, (D and E,) of which Chardin has

[20] CTESIAS, *Pers.* cap. 15. [21] ἐν τῷ δισσῷ ὄρει.

[22] Sir R. KER PORTER also found it impossible to get at the opening made in the face of the rock, at Neksh-i-Roostem, sixty feet above the surface of the plain, in any other manner; and was wound up to that height at some danger to himself, vol. i. p. 520.

[23] That is, ἀδύτῳ, instead of διττῷ.

given a drawing.[24] With the exception of some minor points of detail, they are exactly alike, and as their plan and construction, no less than their position, closely tallies with the account of the historian, we may be satisfied that we behold in one of these the tomb of Darius Hystaspis, erected by his own command during his lifetime, and in which, after death, his body was deposited. Which of the two was the sepulchre of this king, must indeed remain uncertain; but this is of the less consequence, as they so closely resemble one another. Tradition ascribes the second (according to Chardin) to Darab or Dardus; but this tradition is the less to be regarded, as when the Orientals speak of Darab, they usually mean the last Darius, who was vanquished by Alexander, with whom we have nothing whatever to do on the present occasion. If, however, any one be inclined to rest satisfied with this authority, he has, at all events, some slight grounds for deciding in favour of one of these tombs.[25]

Whatever may be the fate of this question, it is clear that we have at least made a very considerable step towards a more complete knowledge of the ruins of Persepolis, by ascertaining that in one or other of these tombs we have before us a genuine monument of the ancient Persians, belonging to the age of the greatest of the kings of that country. I reserve for the sequel the general observations deducible from this fact, and would first direct the attention of my reader to the figures with which the façades of these tombs are decorated. They so nearly resemble, in all their essentials, those at Neksh-i-Roostem, that I shall make the latter the subjects of my observations, because Chardin has given the figures of the latter with the greatest accuracy, even when compared with the designs of Porter.

The whole façade is that of a building of two stories; the lower of which only presents the false entrance, marked by two pilasters, which have the appearance of supporting the upper story. The latter contains a stage, or scaffold, decorated with various ornaments, the following being the prin-

[24] CHARDIN, table lxvii. lxviii. They are not represented in Niebuhr or in Porter; except only that at Neksh-i-Roostem.

[25] PORTER conceives that the tomb examined by himself at Neksh-i-Roostem was that of Darius, for which I can see no probable reason. The tomb at Chehl-Menâr is equally inaccessible as the other.

cipal subject. An elderly man, with a strong bow in his hand, stands before an altar, on which a fire is burning. Above the altar is suspended a globe, and above the human figure another resembling it, except that, instead of a bow, he holds a ring, and that the upper parts alone of his person are visible, the lower being covered by a spreading garment.

The design (as might be expected in a sepulchral monument) is obviously of a religious character, and consequently must be explained by a reference to the religion of the Persian court and state, that of Zoroaster. A statement of the tenets of this religion must be reserved for the sequel; all that I shall advance in the present place may be understood apart from the detail into which I shall then enter.

The whole is meant as a representation of the king in the character of a disciple of Zoroaster, and a worshipper of Ormuzd, as will be still more apparent on an examination of the figures considered separately.

The figure standing before the fire is the image of the king, not (as Porter supposes) that of a priest. He may be recognised by the bow in his hand, with which the Persian monarchs generally chose to be represented, as the symbol of courage and dexterity in the chase and war. The inscription which Strabo assures us was engraved upon the tomb, and of which he has fortunately preserved a translation, proves this: "I was a friend to my friends, the first of horsemen and of bowmen; among hunters I bore the palm: what I would that I could.[26] Nor is the circumstance that the bow is represented as exceedingly powerful to be passed over as immaterial, for to bend such a bow was a proof of strength and manhood. When Darius advanced against the Scythian king Scytharces, the two monarchs sent their bows to one another by way of challenge; and when that of the Scythian proved the stronger, Darius withdrew.[27]

The accompanying figures also prove the principal one to be that of the king. On one side of the stage stand three of the body-guard, in Median attire: on the other side, three courtiers, in a mourning attitude,[28] being intended to represent, as we shall see hereafter, those who

[26] STRABO, p. 1062. [27] CTESIAS, *Pers.* cap. 17.
[28] See PORTER, plate xvii.

were appointed to attend the dead monarch, and to continue near his tomb. The circumstance of the king being represented without the tiara, is very readily accounted for by his having ceased to reign: his right hand is elevated in an attitude of supplication. On the altar is represented blazing the sacred fire, the principal object of worship among the ancient Persians, the symbol of the primal fire or creative energy of the godhead, from which emanated Ormuzd himself, the author of all good.[29] This symbol, however, had a still more especial value as relating to the king. The king, as the living image of Ormuzd, was also the first of the worshippers of the sacred fire, which, therefore, inseparably accompanied his person. It was carried before him whenever he appeared in public; it was daily the object of his adoration, and was extinguished when he expired.[30] We behold, therefore, the monarch in the attitude in which he was every day seen by the Magi, and in which they must have had peculiar pleasure in beholding him, as a member of their religion.

The ball which is seen hovering over the flame is meant to represent the sun, the second great national deity of the Persians, whose whole mythology might be said to turn upon the ideas of light and the sun, their established symbols of wisdom, goodness, and excellence. The sun they always worshipped with a countenance directed towards that luminary, especially at his rising; and in such an attitude the king is here represented; the sun also appearing in the sculpture to the east of him.

Here then we see delineated both the principal divinities of the Persians; the same to whom the kings of Persia, on their arrival at Pasargada, (as we shall have occasion to see,) were bound by the precepts of the Magi to offer sacrifice on the neighbouring mountains.

The winged half-length figure, which hovers over the king, and looks like a repetition of his, appears the most difficult to explain, for we must not suppose it represents a departed spirit, as we have already seen that the same figure accompanied the king in his lifetime. The image is, however, by so much the more valuable, as affording a distinct

[29] *Zendavesta* of KLEUKER, vol. i. p. 50, sqq.
[30] See the proofs alleged by BRISSON, loc. cit. p. 351.

indication of the religion of Zoroaster; being, in the language of the Zendavesta, the ferooher, either of the king himself, or of Ormuzd.

According to the tenets of Zoroaster, not only all men, but all other animals, have their archetype, the purest efflux of the creative thought of Ormuzd, by which he called into existence the various orders of created beings. The name of these ideal essences was Ferooher.[31] They were conceived to resemble the beings made after their model, only purer, more glorious and immortal. As created beings differ in their degrees of perfection, so also do their archetypes. The ferooher of Zoroaster, Bahman, and others, were esteemed the most excellent of all, and with them ranked those of the kings. Collectively, these composed the pure creation of Ormuzd, and the constant attendance of the images of the ferooher on that of the king, denotes that the monarch was a worshipper and favourite of Ormuzd, or, in other words, a good king.

The idea that this is the ferooher of the king is confirmed, at the first glance, by the resemblance between the two figures; but on the other hand, it appears to be designated as the spirit of Ormuzd, by those insignia, the tiara and ring, which, as they were no longer appropriate to the dead monarch, could not belong to his spirit. The latter of these insignia is the symbol, not, as has been improperly imagined, of eternity, but of dominion: the circular girdle being the costi or cincture of the priests. That Ormuzd himself had his spirit, or ferooher,[32] is apparent from the Zendavesta, where Zoroaster is exhorted by Ormuzd to adore it.[33]

The principal design having been explained, the accessories cannot occasion much difficulty.

On both sides of the stage or scaffold are seen the foreparts of the fabulous animal, the unicorn, so often introduced by way of ornament. The stage itself on which the

[31] For this fiction see the *Zendavesta*, vol. i. p. 14, sqq. Ferooher and *soul*, or *spirit*, may be considered as nearly equivalent terms.

[32] This last idea, that the ferooher is that of Ormuzd, has been proposed by GROTEFEND, *Amalthea*, ii. 78, where sufficient proofs are given of the true meaning of the symbolical ring, as denoting universal dominion. Whichever interpretation may be adopted, the general conclusion remains the same, that the king is represented as a worshipper of Ormuzd.

[33] VENDIDAT, *Quest.* xix.; *Zendavesta* of KLEUKER, ii. p. 377.

king and the altar are placed, is supported by two rows of human figures, one above the other, in the manner of caryatides. These do not appear to me introduced merely by way of ornament, but rather, as I have had occasion to remark in other instances, as a sign of the majesty and power of the principal personage. Beneath these are carved on the entablature, which appears to support the second story, a row of dogs, in which also we have an evidence of the religion of Zoroaster, as the Magians accounted the dog to be a sacred animal, the maintenance of which was strictly enjoined in the Zend books.[34]

The lower story, which appears meant to represent the entrance, is only remarkable in an architectural point of view. The columns on both sides terminate in capitals, shaped like unicorns' heads, back to back; and on both sides, as on the upper story, are seen men armed with spears, apparently belonging to the body-guard, and disposed in pairs. In the vacant space between the necks of the unicorns, the blocks of stone which support the entablature above are mortised; a certain proof that in other cases also, where the same capitals occur, they were meant, in like manner, to support an architrave or roof.[35]

The explanation of one of these sepulchres becomes a key to the rest, the designs of those at Chehl-Menâr and Neksh-i-Roostem being all essentially the same. The same four figures occur in all, except that at Neksh-i-Roostem, as far as we can judge from the very imperfect delineations of Chardin, there appears less of ornament; which, however, is by no means the case with the one examined and copied by Porter. On the other hand, one of them bears a copious inscription in the arrow-headed character, which, when copied and explained, may probably throw great light on the destination of the monument.

To this question is immediately attached another, by the satisfying of which alone the former can be fully answered. What was the destination of these costly sepulchres? Why

[34] The dog is the animal of Ormuzd; the wolf (his natural enemy) of Ahriman, the evil principle. The former is, therefore, an appropriate emblem of vigilance, and enmity to Ahriman. *Zendavesta, Ann.* ii. iii. p. 34.

[35] See above, p. 95, 96.

were they constructed on this peculiar plan? and what relation had they to the neighbouring palace?

The treatment of the dead is usually regulated by the opinions each nation entertains of the state after death. According to the religion of Zoroaster, there remained a future resurrection of the departed, which would be accompanied by a universal restoration of all things, the universal triumph of the kingdom of Ormuzd, or of light, and the destruction of that of Ahriman, or the evil principle.[36] It was a natural consequence of this belief, that the bodies of the dead should be carefully preserved, as being destined to rise from their graves in renewed glory.[37] The intermediate state of the soul was looked upon as a prolongation of the present life, and the grave of the monarch came to be considered a sort of residence, which it was the duty of the living to provide with all things which had been deemed necessary or suitable to its occupant while alive. This idea very naturally led to the practice of making the decorations of their sepulchres correspond in magnificence with the progress of luxury in the world without. The dead king was allowed to retain not only his robes and personal possessions, but even his treasure. Each monarch, as it would appear, having a sepulchral treasury of his own.[38] In this manner Persepolis became the depôt of immense treasures, which were protected by numerous bodies of guards and sentinels, posted not only about the palace itself, but over the neighbouring hills.[39] It became also the office of the most illustrious courtiers to follow the body of the monarch, and abide near his tomb; and Bagoraxus, who had been appointed to this by Secundianus, fell into disgrace because he deserted the sepulchre of Artaxerxes.[40] Bagapates, the

[36] See the *Zendavesta*, i. p. 27, sq.

[37] See the Appendix to the *Zendavesta*, vol. i. p. 140.

[38] Frequent mention is made of the treasure preserved near the tomb of Cyrus. See ARRIAN. loc. cit. The historians Alexander, Diodorus, Arrian, and Curtius, allude to the treasures of the other kings stored up at Persepolis.

[39] DIODORUS, loc. cit. Remains of ancient forts of this kind are to be found on several of the adjoining heights. CHARDIN, ii. p. 141. The most remarkable of these, the ruins of which Porter visited, stood immediately at the entrance of the plain of Merdasht, which it overlooked. That traveller found clear traces of a palace and a temple having anciently existed there.

[40] CTESIAS, *Pers.* cap. 46.

governor of the harem of Darius Hystaspis, accompanied his master to the place of his interment, and continued to reside near it for seven years, when he died ;[41] and we are warranted to presume, from this circumstance, that the harem also of the deceased king must have been removed to Persepolis, which appears to explain the circumstance, that the soldiers of Alexander found there so many women of rank, and costly articles of female apparel, when they sacked the palace of the kings of Persia.[42]

That such rock tombs were completely Persian in their character and design is proved also by those found in the mountain close by Telmissus in Lycia. Choiseul Gouffier recognised in the latter imitations of those of Chehl-Menâr,[43] and his remarks are confirmed by those of a more recent traveller.[44] They prove that not only the monarchs, but the grandees of Persia, caused sepulchral chambers to be hewn out for themselves in such rocky situations, hoping (in vain !) to secure their remains from disturbance or spoliation.

From what has been stated it is clear that such monumental edifices not only form a considerable part of the remains of Persepolis, but are intimately connected with the rest, and we may hence conclude how it came to pass that the place was looked upon as the metropolis, as Diodorus terms it, and the true capital of all the empire ; being regarded as the home of the Persian monarchs, not only during their lifetime, but after their death.

Before I quit the subject of Persepolis I must say a word

[41] CTESIAS, *Pers.* xiv. 19. [42] DIODORUS, ii. p. 214.

[43] CHOISEUL GOUFFIER, *Voyage Pittoresque*, i. p. 118. "Quelle analogie frapporte entre les tombeaux de Persepolis et ceux de Telmissa!" See the drawing given by him, plate lxvii.

[44] VON HAMMER, *Topographische ansichten in der Levante*, 1811, pp. 109, 110. "The mountain of Telmissus, where the tombs are situated, lies five hundred paces from the walls of the ancient city, and may be called a double mountain, if the hill on which the castle stands and the hill of tombs be considered as one. The graves had originally no entrance, and must have been wrought in the rock by the aid of scaffolding: the entrance which was left to receive the corpse was closed by means of a table of stone fitting in with the pannels of the tomb. After the stone had been cemented in its place and the scaffolding removed, all entrance or ascent became nearly impossible. The whole appears to prove that Telmissus, having been built by the Greeks and conquered by the Persians, became the residence of the satraps of the latter, who imitating as nearly as possible the manners of the court, not only during their lifetime, but with reference to their interment, copied in their own province the monuments of Persepolis, and sought like their princes to repose in lofty sepulchral palaces hewn out of the rock."

or two about the name. How comes it that the place was thus designated by a Grecian appellation, signifying the "city of the Persians?" According to the general opinion, the Persian appellation for the ancient capital of the empire, situated in the neighbourhood of Chehl-Menâr and Neksh-i-Roostem, was Istakhar, or Estakhar. But, in the first place, it is by no means clear that this is an ancient Persian name, as recent oriental historians assert;[45] the Jewish authors who make mention of Susa and Ecbatana never once naming it; and even admitting it to be so, this will not account for the Grecian appellation of Persepolis. The Greeks were by no means in the habit of thus giving names entirely new to foreign cities, and it is difficult to suppose that Persepolis was the only example of such a practice.

I consider Persepolis to be a translation of Pasargada, which, according to Grecian authorities, signifies "the encampment of the Persians."[46] Supposing this to be its meaning, we must read Parsagada instead of Pasargada;[47] and this, which is probably the more correct form, has been uniformly preserved by Q. Curtius.[48] The Greek translation of the original name would thus be fully accounted for; but as Persepolis and Pasargada are represented by the authors of that nation as distinct places, it is necessary to inquire further into the matter.

The followers of Alexander, the first Grecian authors who make mention of Persepolis, when they express themselves with precision, speak of the "royal palace of the Persians," without naming the city; and the description they have given leaves no room for doubt that they were speaking of the edifice at Chehl-Menâr.[49] When, however, they express themselves with less accuracy, they use indifferently the terms palace and city, and in this manner the term Persepolis has come to be applied to both.[50] On

[45] See HERBELOT, *Bibl. Orient.* s. v. *Isthakar.*

[46] STEPH. s. v. Πασσαργαδαι,—from an ancient author.

[47] The Greeks have given the name with many variations. They write it Pasagardæ, Passagarda, etc. For its etymology consult the explanation given by Prof. Tychsen in the Appendix. OUSELEY also, ii. 317, considers Persepolis to be a translation of Pasargada.

[48] CURTIUS, v. 6.

[49] See ARRIAN, iii. 18, vi. 30. For proof of the latter assertion, see the admirable description of the palace of Persepolis in DIOD. ii. p. 215.

[50] See ARRIAN, vii. 1, and others.

the other hand, Pasargada is mentioned by them as the place where the tomb of Cyrus was situated, and where, according to other authorities, there also existed a royal palace.[51] The latter is never confounded with the former, and it is so far clear that the ancient palace of Chehl-Menâr and the buildings at Pasargada were two distinct structures. Might not, however, the term Persepolis, taken in a wider signification, be understood to comprehend not only the palace at Chehl-Menâr, but also the city, or rather district, in which this multitude of ancient Persian monuments is found, and so be extended to the tomb of Cyrus itself? According to Chardin, whose account is borne out by that of more recent travellers, the ruins extend as far as ten leagues round.[52] Why might not such a circuit as this embrace all the places referred to? Pasargada might, in that case, be said with truth to lie at a considerable distance from the modern Chehl-Menâr, and yet be comprehended within these limits. The fertile and well-watered plains of Merdasht and Mourghaub were anciently the favourite stations of the Persians, who encamped there at a period anterior to their conquests. The whole district came in this manner to assume the name of Pasargada, or the encampment of the Persians, which it continued to retain even after the increased power of the nation had caused cities and palaces to spring up in these the former sites of their temporary encampments. The Greeks, however, were in the habit of applying the term only to the spot where the remains of Cyrus were deposited.

The situation of Pasargada, in this restricted sense of the term, is so clearly marked as scarcely to admit a question, and we are indebted for accurate information on this head to the researches of Morier, and after him of Porter. Both these travellers agree that Pasargada stood in the plain of Mourghaub; so called from a village it contains, near which are some highly interesting remains of Persian architecture. We have already remarked that this plain is connected with that of Merdasht, where the ruins of Chehl-Menâr are

[51] ARRIAN, vi. 29. STEPH. loc. cit.

[52] OUSELEY, ii. p. 421. The road from Chehl-Menâr to Pasargada passes through Sirvued, a village at the distance of five hours' ride. On every side are to be seen the remains of buildings, columns, portals, etc. constructed in the same style with those at Chehl-Menâr.

situated ;[53] and accurate measurements have proved that the distance from Chehl-Menâr amounts to nine and forty English, or nearly eleven geographical German miles.[54] It is to be regretted that no ancient author has given us the exact distance from Persepolis to Pasargada, but that it cannot have been very considerable is clear from the narrative furnished by the followers of Alexander, upon whose account Arrian founded his history. Alexander marched from the one to the other, and the capture of Pasargada followed immediately upon that of Persepolis. A distance, however, of about fifty miles does not appear so great, as to contradict the solution offered ; especially when we reflect that the whole road appears to have been covered with ancient edifices, and that the name of Pasargada may be very well understood to have comprehended the greater part of the intervening space.[55] Although Morier has given the earliest account of Mourghaub and its antiquities, it is to Porter that we are indebted for more accurate information respecting them. The plain of Mourghaub is watered by the Khur-Aub, the Cyrus of the ancients, which soon empties itself into the Bend-emir, or Araxes, and has consequently been often confounded with it. The plain is extremely fertile, and, when Porter saw it, was highly cultivated. The ruins scattered over this district, by their character and the form of their arrow-headed inscriptions, leave no doubt that they belong to the period of the ancient Persians. Porter also discovered here a platform, consisting of hewn blocks of marble, skilfully joined together and

[53] See above, p. 92.

[54] Ouseley, ii. 421 ; Porter, i. 508 (on an accurate measurement).

[55] The arguments against the identity of Mourghaub and Pasargada have been best detailed by Hoeck, *Veteris Persiæ et Mediæ Monumenta*, p. 58, etc. They do not, however, appear satisfactory, since the publication of the more accurate descriptions of Porter. In the first place, the distance of about forty-five miles between the two places does not seem great enough to occasion any difficulty. Secondly, It is not certain that Pasargada lay due east from Persepolis, (instead of north-east, as is the fact,) for the passage in Pliny (vi. 29) does not prove it. Thirdly, The line of Alexander's march, on his return from India, does not contradict the assertion of my text, for it is to be observed that he did proceed with his army to Pasargada, but left his troops to pursue their march along the direct road, under the command of Hephæstion, (Arrian, vii. 29,) while he himself proceeded thither escorted by a light detachment, (Arrian, ibid.,) in order to regulate the affairs of the empire he had conquered, which could not have been suitably effected amid the ashes of the palace of Persepolis. This march, which must have been northward, rather favours than contradicts the supposition I have advanced.

projecting from the side of the rock. Its size, three hundred feet in length by two hundred and ninety-eight in breadth, makes it probable that this was the side of some considerable edifice,[56] and the place is at present called Takhti-Suleiman, or Solomon's Throne.

On the plain itself are discovered various detached pillars bearing an inscription in arrow-headed characters, and in one place four such columns, forming a square; and the researches of Porter have proved that the inscription is the same in each instance.[57] Upon one of these solitary pillars, however, near the side of an edifice, of which the only remains are the pedestals of two rows of columns, is discovered at the foot of the inscription a remarkable figure in relievo, having the human shape and colossal proportions, twelve feet in height, and habited in a long robe with a peculiar head-dress; in addition to which it has four wings.[58] This figure occurs no where else that I am aware of among the Persian remains, though one resembling it may be traced (wanting only the head-dress) on the cylindrical fragments of the ruins of Babylon. It is certainly not the king, being without the insignia by which he is distinguished, particularly the artificial head of hair and beard; and evidently is meant to represent one of a superior order of beings, as is shown by the addition of wings, which the artists of Persia, like those of other nations, were in the habit of attributing exclusively to superior natures. The wings are remarkable not only for their size but their number, being four; and in that respect recalling to our recollection those of the Cherubim, as Porter has already remarked.[59] The head-dress, however, is still more remarkable. Between two horizontal rams' horns are disposed three vessel-like figures, on each of which is placed a white ball. Porter observed exactly the same head-gear on the head of a female figure among the ruins of Thebes in Upper Egypt, and the com-

[56] PORTER, i. 484.

[57] PORTER, i. 489, where the inscription is copied with diplomatical accuracy. The words, with the exception of the names and titles of the king, are the same as at Chehl-Menâr. According to Grotefend they are to be rendered, "Cyrus, the lord, the king, the ruler of the world." In the name of the monarch, however, the third letter is dubious. See the observations on Pasargada, in the Appendix.

[58] PORTER, i. plate xiii.

[59] PORTER, i. 495.

position is too intricate for the resemblance to be thought accidental. The rams' horns were the invariable symbol among the Egyptians of the worship of Ammon; while a bright ball was no less the established symbol among the Persians of light, the sacred element of Ormuzd. We cannot therefore fail to remark in the present instance a blending of the Egyptian and Persian superstitions, which is not to be discovered on any other of the Persian architectural remains. We miss, however, in the Persian example, the four keys, as they are called, which in the Egyptian are suspended from the horns of Ammon, and denote inauguration into the priesthood. A similar figure, without the headdress, but with four wings, and each hand employed in throttling an ostrich, may be seen on the cylindrical fragment from Babylon, described by M. von Dorow, denoting, according to Grotefend, Serosh, one of the Izeds, the superior genii, or most exalted servants of Ormuzd.[60] Whether it be meant to represent this divine personage, or Ormuzd himself, it is evidently one of the superior essences of the empire of Ormuzd.

According to Strabo, Pasargada was founded by Cyrus, and Morier[61] has informed us that the plain of Mourghaub contains so great a multitude of architectural remains that we cannot doubt it was once the site of a mighty city; and the character of these ruins sufficiently proves them to be coeval with the old Persian dynasty.

The most remarkable, however, of them all, is the structure which is supposed to have been the tomb of the founder of the Persian monarchy, Cyrus.[62] That the tomb of Cyrus was at Pasargada is proved by the concurrent testimony of antiquity, and Arrian has given an accurate description of it, taken from the account of an eye-witness, Aristobulus.[63] "At Pasargada, in the royal park," he tells us, "was the tomb of Cyrus, having about it a grove of all sorts of trees, with abundance of water, and rich grass in the meadow. The tomb itself had a foundation of square stones in a qua-

[60] *Amalthea*, ii. p. 87. Above all DOROW, *Morgenländische Altherthümer*, p. i.

[61] MORIER, i. p. 146; STRABO, p. 1061, 1062.

[62] See PORTER'S *Drawing*, i. plate xiv.; and his detached description, p. 498, etc. It is now commonly called the *grave* of the *mother* of *Solomon*.

[63] ARRIAN, vi. 29.

drangular form. On this was raised a stone edifice, with a roof, and a door-way so narrow that even a man of moderate height could with difficulty get in. Within was a golden sarcophagus, in which the body of Cyrus was deposited; and near it a couch, the feet of which were covered with wrought gold, and upon it were laid Babylonian carpets, and on these again costly garments of Median and Babylonian manufacture, of various colours; with chains, cimeters, and earrings of gold, and precious stones. Close by was a small dwelling built for the residence of the Magi, to whom, since the time of Cambyses, the care of the monument has been committed, descending from father to son. The king allowed them every day a sheep, and a measure of corn and of wine, and every month a horse, to be sacrificed to Cyrus. On the tomb was engraved in Persian an inscription to this effect: 'O man! I am Cyrus who gave the empire to the Persians, and was lord of all Asia: therefore grudge me not my sepulchre!'" Are then the remains, which at present subsist, the tomb of this great king? a question indifferent to none possessing any taste for antiquity, and which can only be answered by a comparison of facts.

If it should appear from what has been already advanced that Pasargada was situated in the plain of Mourghaub, we may expect with certainty to find there the tomb of Cyrus. Arrian informs us that it was situated in the royal park, in a well-watered and grassy meadow, and such is the case with the remains in question, the groves of trees alone having disappeared.[64] The basement consisted of quadrangular stones forming a square. The foundation of the present edifice is an oblong, composed of blocks of white marble of prodigious size, placed one above another, so as to form seven steps or degrees, or (counting those of the sacellum itself) ten.[65] The exterior of the edifice tallies exactly with the description of Arrian, the whole compass of it, the narrow entrance and the stone roof, corresponding precisely with his account: we can even trace on the floor (consisting of two huge squares of marble) the holes in which the

[64] PORTER, i. 503.

[65] See the plate in PORTER, loc. cit. This agrees with the description of another eyewitness, one Sicritus in STRABO, p. 1062; who calls it δεκάστενος, and adds that the body reposed in the topmost story.

irons were probably fastened which served to secure the supports of the sarcophagus.[66] Internally the chamber is only ten feet in length, seven in breadth, and eight in height, and can scarcely have been intended for any other purpose than as a place of interment. The shape of the structure, as has been observed, is an oblong; but as the longer sides are forty-four feet in length and the shorter forty, the disproportion is not obvious to the eye. Formerly the whole was surrounded by a square colonnade of twenty-four pillars, of which seventeen remain standing, six in each row: this is undoubtedly the enclosure (περίβολος) to which Arrian alludes. So far there is all the agreement which could have been expected when the author has omitted to give an accurate measurement of the building in question: one objection, however, remains to be noticed—the absence of any inscription.[67] It is to be observed, however, that a recent inscription in Arabic may be traced on the interior of the edifice, which may possibly have occupied the place of the ancient one; or we may be allowed to suppose that the latter was cut upon a marble tablet now lost, but anciently affixed to some part of the building, or perhaps upon one of the columns of the περίβολος.[68] It is also objected that the edifice is not in the style of the architectural remains of ancient Persia; but the account of Arrian proves that the tomb of Cyrus was in this style, and consequently that it was a style known to the old Persians. Besides, there are in reality the remains of a similar building at Neksh-i-Roostem, over against the hills where the tombs of the kings are situated.[69] When the sepulchre of Cyrus was built, the architecture of Persia had not yet acquired that peculiar character by which it was afterwards distinguished; or rather, it was not at that time the established practice to inter in excavations formed out of the solid rock, as was the case in later reigns. Extreme simplicity, combined with durability calculated to last for ages, are pre-

[66] PORTER, i. p. 500, from whom also what follows has been taken.

[67] The arguments against the supposition advanced above, are best stated by HOECK, *Veteris Persiæ Monumenta*, p. 59; but if we admit the identity of Pasargada and Mourghaub, these objections can be allowed little weight.

[68] PORTER, loc. cit.

[69] This is the building described by NIEBUHR, ii. 159: this traveller never visited Mourghaub.

cisely the properties which we should expect to characterize the sepulchre of this ancient monarch, and which in fact distinguish the edifice in question. The balance of probabilities appears therefore to incline to the opinion advanced above; and to require certainty in questions like the present, is to demand what the nature of the subject does not admit of.

At all events, it is certain that Pasargada was one of the earliest residences of the Persian monarchs, and the frequent abode of Cyrus; and the circumstance to which this is attributable is well known. It was at Pasargada that he gained his decisive victory over the Medes, and founded the empire of the Persians; the best authorities assuring us that in this spot Astyages was overthrown, and the fate of Asia decided.[70] It is therefore not surprising that the conqueror should have selected this as his favourite seat, and the destined place of his interment.

Even in after times, Pasargada was regarded by the Persians with a sort of reverence, and associated with many of their religious observances and institutions. It was here that their kings were consecrated by the Magi upon ascending the throne. Here they were invested with the robes of Cyrus, and partook of a consecrated banquet, with many other mysterious ceremonies necessary to their inauguration in the kingly office.[71] To this sacred spot also, from time to time, they conveyed their offerings. We read of Cyrus that he performed this sort of holy pilgrimage seven times,[72] and the same is related of Darius Hystaspis;[73] and Porter even attempts, with some plausibility, to point out the spots in the plain of Mourghaub devoted to these religious rites. The platform, for instance, which we have already described, would appear to have been an appropriate place for the public investiture of the monarch in the robes of his great predecessor. The building surrounded by pillars bearing the image of Ormuzd, may possibly have been the sanctuary where they were inaugurated by the Magi, as it undoubted-

[70] STRABO, loc. cit. STEPHANUS, sub. v. Πασσαργαδαι.

[71] We are indebted for these particulars to PLUTARCH, in his *Life of Artaxerxes*, *Op.* i. p. 1012.

[72] XENOPH. *Cyrop.* viii. *Op.* p. 228, 233. Xenophon expressly states that this practice continued in his own time.

[73] CTESIAS, *Pers.* cap. 19.

ly was designed for religious purposes of some kind or other. The imagination delights to picture to itself the particulars of those ceremonies of venerable antiquity, and in the present case, this is justified by the fact that we have ascertained the very scene of their celebration.

It is not the object of the present work to present a detailed account of the various remains of ancient Persia, a task which has also been performed by others.[74] They extend from the Persian Gulf as far as the confines of Media:[75] it may be remarked, however, as Niebuhr has already done, that many of the fragments of Chehl-Menâr, such as pillars, etc., have been carried from their original situation and employed in the construction of more recent edifices.[76] I cannot, however, avoid adding a few words respecting the rock monuments of Bistoon, of which Porter has been the first to afford us an accurate description and delineation.[77] They are only a few hours' journey distant from Kerman-Shah, so celebrated for its remains of the age of the Sassanian princes.[78] The rocky mountain of Bistoon rises to the height of one thousand five hundred perpendicular feet, and has at its feet a platform hewn out of the cliff, resembling that of Chehl-Menâr, on which a building anciently stood, or was destined to stand. A gigantic figure is carved in relievo on the wall of the rock, the character of which, as well as the form of the letters composing the inscription by which it is accompanied, prove it to belong to the times of the ancient Persians. Porter assures us that it would take two months to copy these figures and inscriptions, supposing that any one were willing to expose himself to the danger of being wound up to the necessary height. He has only copied a series of twelve figures, which, however, are sufficient to give an idea of the design of the sculpture. The principal one is that of the king, who is represented armed,

[74] See especially the treatise of HOECK, *Veteris Mediæ et Persiæ Monumenta*, *Goett.* 1818.

[75] I consider the ruins mentioned by MORIER, vol. i. p. 51, near the port of Congun, on the Persian Gulf, as the farthest to the south (lat. 27° 12″ N.) He informs us that he observed in that neighbourhood extensive ruins, and sculptures in the Persepolitan style.

[76] NIEBUHR, xi. 166.

[77] PORTER, ii. p. 154, plate lx. The former delineations are altogether incorrect.

[78] On the confines of Media, lat. 34° 20″.

and in the quiet attitude of a triumphant conqueror: before him are a row of captives, while his foot is placed on a prostrate enemy: the monarch bears a bow in his hand, and is distinguished by his superior stature; his ferooher being also seen to hover over him. His dress and hair are arranged in the Median fashion, as is the case also with two of his body-guard, who are placed behind him, the one armed with a bow, the other with a lance. The row of captives before him are characterized not only by their dejected countenances, but by the manner in which their hands are fastened behind their backs, and by the cords attached to their necks. Their dresses vary, some being longer than others; but none wear any head-dress, except the last, and his consists of a sugar-loaf-shaped cap. The robes of the third in the line bear an inscription in the arrow-headed character; and Porter assures us that there is also an inscription carved over the head of every individual. The king is standing with his right hand elevated, in an attitude rather of exhortation than of menace; as if he were according pardon; and is obviously represented speaking. He does not wear the tiara: his hair is curled, and his beard enveloped in a bag or case. The whole character of his dress bespeaks rather the camp than the court. It is also to be remarked that the line of captives is represented continually increasing in height, and consequently the last, with the conical cap, overtops them all. The prostrate figure on which the king stands, and which is at present scarcely discernible, extends his arms upwards in the attitude of a suppliant, but it is evident that the king is not addressing him, but the string of captives.

The explanation of a sculpture, as yet so imperfectly known, must necessarily be imperfect, and all that can be certainly pronounced respecting it is, that it undoubtedly belongs to the period of the ancient Persian empire, and that it represents a monarch of that dynasty in the attitude of a conqueror, who appears to be granting pardon to a long line of prisoners. We may also venture to assert, that these figures refer to some particular transaction, and were not merely intended to express generally the majesty and power of the Persian empire, for the prisoners appear to belong, not to a variety of nations, but to the same; or, at

the most, to two; if the somewhat different length of their dresses be understood to denote them. Who, then, is the monarch thus delineated, and who are the prisoners? We have nothing but probabilities to suggest in answer to these questions, but these would lead us to conclude that the relievo has reference to the earliest period of the Persian empire, and the reign of Cyrus. Persian sculpture betrays here all its original simplicity, without the finish and compass which is displayed on the walls of Persepolis. Here are no fanciful nor allegorical monsters: the facts themselves are historically detailed. The very place would lead us to the same conclusion. Under the reigns of the successors of Cyrus, Darius Hystaspis and Xerxes, Persian sculpture was in a manner concentrated in Persepolis and the adjacent district; which consequently became the classic ground of Persian art. The mountain of Bistoon lies, however, without this district, on the borders of Media. Now if the Persian government had desired to commemorate any victory obtained at a more recent period, it is probable that they would have preferred for this purpose the rocks of the plain of Merdasht. Even the circumstance of an inscription occurring on the dress of one of the figures, (of which no example is to be found elsewhere,) appears to argue a remote era in the history of the art; and supposing this to be the case, what monarch can be so properly supposed to be meant as Cyrus himself? It cannot be Cambyses; for the scene of his achievements was a different country, Egypt. On the contrary, all the circumstances are perfectly correspondent with the history of Cyrus; and as he overthrew the Lydian and Phrygian kingdoms, may we not suppose that the captive figures designate those nations? and may not the conical head-dress be meant to denote the Phrygian cap, such as we see it on the busts of Paris and Atys?[79] Again, may not this have been the habitual residence of Cyrus, before the foundation of Persepolis, whence he resorted to the sacrifices and solemnities at Pasargada? All this, it is true, is conjecture, and advanced as such; but it is a conjecture which wears the appearance of considerable probability, and if our representations of these sculptures

[79] See the Essay of GROTEFEND, *Amalthea*, ii. 98, sqq.

were more complete, we might possibly be able to trace in them all the history of that memorable man, whose exploits are no less celebrated in the Holy Scriptures than in the annals of the Greeks.

To the above remarks respecting particular monuments of ancient Persia I may, with some confidence, subjoin others relating to the general character of such remains in that country.

I. The remains of Persepolis clearly belong to the most ancient period of Persian history. This is apparent from a multitude of concurring proofs. In the first place, it is as certain as any matter of such high antiquity can be made by historical evidence, that the ancient sepulchres we have been considering are those of old Persian monarchs; and this being admitted, we are compelled to refer the ruins of Chehl-Menâr to the same period. Not only is there a close analogy between the styles of architecture and the religious or mythological decorations in both, but the sepulchres may in some sense be said to belong to the edifices, with which their very situation causes them in a manner to combine and form a whole. In the next place, we discover nothing in these remains which offends against what we know of Persian usages or costume; but, on the contrary, an appearance of perfect conformity with them. The dress, as we might expect, is Medo-Persian; the religion implied, that of Zoroaster; which is not only proved by the adoration of fire represented there, but by the undeniable evidence of the attendant spirits, or feroohers. The arrangement of the court also is exactly what, from the records we possess, we have reason to believe obtained in that of Persia; and if any doubt could still remain, it would be removed by the occurrence of the very names of the old Persian monarchs in the inscriptions.

II. Though it appears certain that these structures were raised in the time of the ancient Persians, it is very possible that they may have employed people of another nation in their erection: a fact in perfect accordance with the usages of the East. Rude nations which suddenly pass to the condition of conquerors from that of wandering shepherds and herdsmen, are not capable of erecting for themselves cities and palaces. For this purpose they are obliged to enlist

the services of the conquered, among whom the arts of architecture and sculpture may have already attained some degree of perfection. This was the case with the Mongol tribes in China, the Chaldæans in Babylon, as well as other nations; and it is expressly related of Cambyses, that he transported from Egypt a large number of builders to erect his palaces at Susa and Persepolis.[80] It is certain, however, that we discover at the latter place no traces of Egyptian art, either as regards the general character of the ruins, or their details; nor can we reasonably suppose an Egyptian architect to have conceived the plan of structures so completely different from any to be found in his native country, any more than we can suppose that masons accustomed to what we call the Gothic style, if transported into another country, would at once be able to construct buildings in the Grecian taste. The prevailing character of Persian architecture, a fondness for terrace works, a style totally unknown to the ancient Egyptians, was considerably more ancient than the reign of Cambyses, and altogether of Asiatic origin, as is proved by the hanging gardens of Babylon, constructed by Semiramis. Allowing the utmost that in fairness we can to the account of the Egyptian workmen imported by Cambyses, we cannot suppose them to have achieved more than the mechanical parts of the structures erected. The architectural remains of Egypt prove that the Egyptians were very capable of elevating and working large masses of stone, and possibly also of carving relievos after a given design or copy. The question, therefore, may be considered as still unanswered: What was the original country whence this style of architecture was derived? Who were the masters of the Persians in this art, and whence did they borrow their models?

The simple answer is undoubtedly this: From the same quarter that they derived the other rudiments of their civilization, in short, from Media.

From all that we know of the Medes, and the splendour of the Median court and their principal city Ecbatana, (a city which appears originally to have been constructed on terraces elevated successively one above the other,[81]) we

[80] Diodorus, i. p. 55.

[81] See the description in Herod. i. 98.

may conclude that the science of architecture had attained among them a certain degree of perfection: a conjecture which appears carried to certainty by the accounts of recent travellers. The traces of the ancient royal seat Ecbatana, of which we shall have occasion to speak hereafter, presented, according to Morier and Porter, the same characteristic style of architecture with which those travellers had become familiar at Chehl-Menâr; the fashion of the columns and even the characters of the inscriptions being the same. We cannot avoid inferring that it was from the Medes that the Persians derived, with the rest of their civilization, the art of architecture also. It must be added, that the sculptures in these ruins are so obviously derived from the Magian religion, which prevailed among the Medes, that we can hardly doubt that the buildings in question were erected under the influence and according to the ideas of that caste; since the figures in question must not be mistaken for mere idle decorations, but had an intimate relation to the purposes for which the buildings themselves were severally designed. But the Magian religion and the Magian priesthood were not confined to Media, but extended over the countries to the East, especially those upon the Oxus, as far as the mountains bordering on India, the parent country of those fabulous monsters, of which, as we have observed, traces are to be seen. Here lay Bactriana, at all times one of the richest countries of the world, in consequence of its position between the Indus and Oxus, and its connexion with India, as well as the fertility of its soil; forming an important part of the empire of the Medes, whose monarchs appear to have resided at Bactra long before they occupied Ecbatana.[82] This also was the country where the religion of Zoroaster first took root and flourished,[83] and thus it became the parent land of the civil institutions of the Medes. When, therefore, the Persians are said to have derived their architecture originally from thence, it must be understood that they did so as the disciples of the Medes.

It is true that the ancients ascribe in part the erection of

[82] I gather this from the Zendavesta, in which the residence of the king is placed there. See below.

[83] Not, however, as is generally supposed, under the reign of Darius Hystaspis, but long before the very commencement of the Persian dynasty; as I shall show in the sequel.

Pasargada and Persepolis to the two earliest monarchs of the old Persian race—Cyrus and Cambyses;[84] but this is easily reconcilable with the supposition that Darius and Xerxes were their principal founders. Niebuhr has already remarked, that the buildings of Persepolis do not appear all to belong to the same period, nor to have been constructed on one uniform plan, and this is especially true of those situated on the third terrace. It is certain that most of the considerable remains of remote antiquity (as was particularly the case with Egyptian edifices) were much more slowly erected than we might be inclined to suppose; and it is extremely probable that successive kings of Persia may have taken part in the erection of Persepolis, especially as the undertaking assumed the character of a religious duty; not to mention that contiunal additions must, from time to time, have been found necessary.

III. The destination of the buildings at Persepolis can no longer be obscure or enigmatical. It was neither a temple, (in fact, the Persians never possessed any thing of the kind,) nor, in the proper sense of the word, a palace, at least during the flourishing period of the Persian monarchy. Like many other capitals of Asia, it owed its aggrandizement to the residence of the first Persian conquerors, who made this their earliest place of abode. Subsequently this ceased to be the case, but the ideas of the Father-land of sovereignty, and of national worship, with which it continued to be associated, caused it to be considered at all times the home and the appropriate burial-place of their monarchs, till it became not indeed the temple but the sanctuary of the nation, built upon the native soil of the whole race, and the favourite seat of their tutelary deities. Nay, in consequence of its arrangement and decorations, it was a kind of image or panorama of the empire at large, and presented a lively picture of the tranquillity it enjoyed under a mild despotism, agreeably to the conceptions of the East, displaying the duties as well as the privileges of all classes of the state, from the king to the meanest of his subjects, graphically delineated. The whole place, accordingly, became (what the records of antiquity assure us it

[84] DIODORUS, ii. p. 215, ed. STEPH. v. Πασσαργαδαι. ÆL. *Hist. Anim.* i. 59.

was) the head or capitol of the whole Persian empire, *caput regni, metropolis Persarum;* and we can be at no loss to perceive how "Macedonia's Madman" sought to glut his vengeance by destroying these structures. The overthrow of Persepolis was calculated to be a visible token to the whole of Asia that the power of Persia was no more, and that the star of a new dynasty had risen on the nations of the East.

I may be allowed to sum up these observations on Persepolis, by a few remarks on the state of the fine arts in the East in ancient, times, as evidenced by these remains. On this account, also, these ruins are highly interesting, transporting us, as they do, into an entirely new region, and introducing us to a completely new set of ideas; and we are the better enabled to appreciate them, since such an artist and connoisseur as Porter has delineated them with exactness, and described them with spirit. We may now pronounce with certainty (what before must have been mere conjecture) that the arts of architecture and sculpture must, long before the dynasty of the Persians, have attained a much higher degree of perfection than men have been generally disposed to admit. If this be doubted, we must be prepared to show that such efforts of art as the edifices of Chehl-Menâr could have started at once into existence, as if by enchantment. In these structures we see proofs that architecture must have attained, when they were erected, a wonderful degree of excellence in its mechanical department. No spot on the globe (Egypt perhaps excepted) displays such masonry as the walls of Persepolis. It was unquestionably a prodigious advantage to the architect that the neighbouring mountains afforded him materials on the very spot; but no other nation has left examples of an equally skilful combination of such enormous blocks of marble. The character and style of the building is, however, perhaps still more remarkable, being directly opposed to that of the Egyptians, with which it has been injudiciously compared; and, if I am not mistaken, the original modes of life of the two races may be traced even in the several styles of their architecture. The observer of Egyptian antiquities can hardly fail to remark the grotto-style of building there prevalent, bespeaking a nation long accustomed to a sort of

Troglodyte life, in caverns and hollows of the rock. The gigantic temples of Thebes and Philæ are obviously imitations of excavated rocks; the short and massive pillars representing the props, left to uphold the roof of such excavations, and the whole structure conveying the impression of enormous incumbent weight, and proportionate resistance: on the other hand, the remains of Persepolis indicate a nation not in the habit of occupying the bosoms of their hills, but accustomed to wander free and unconstrained over their heights and among their forests, and who, when they forsook this nomad life, sought to retain in their new habitations as much as possible of their original liberty. Those terrace-foundations, which appear like a continuation of the mountain, those groves of columns, those basins, once, no doubt, sparkling with refreshing fountains, those flights of steps, which the loaded camel of the Arab ascends with the same ease as his conductor, forming a sort of highway for the nations whose images are sculptured there: all these particulars are as much in unison with the character of that joyous land which the industry of the Persians converted into an earthly paradise, as the gigantic temples of Egypt are appropriate memorials of their old grottos in the rocks. The columns of Persepolis shoot upwards with a slender yet firm elevation, conveying a fit image of the stems of the lotus and palm, from which they were probably copied. As in Egypt every thing is closely covered, and, as it were, oppressed by a roof, so here is every thing free and unconfined, in admirable harmony with the religion of the nation, whose sole objects of worship were the sun, the elements, and the open vault of heaven.

The art of design also preserves in the ruins of Persepolis a character peculiar to itself, a character of sobriety and dignity. Sculpture here appears formed on the habits of a court, and of an oriental court. No female or naked figure is to be traced; the seclusion of the harem being religiously respected. Of the male figures, none are portrayed in any violent or constrained attitude, not even when the monarch is represented destroying a monster; and it is only in the conflicts of animals with one another that the artist has displayed his power of expressing strong excitement. Where every thing had reference to a court, no attitude was ad-

missible which was not sanctioned by court etiquette. At the same time, this air of composure and dignity does not degenerate into stiffness: the design of the artist appears to have been, not to excite an impression of the beautiful, but a feeling of veneration; an end which has been fully attained. It is to be observed that no statue, nor any vestige of one, appears to have been discovered, and Persian sculpture seems to have been confined to the carving of reliefs, more or less prominent; and in the case of the monstrous figures which guard the entrance, amounting to half-relievos. How different are these historical relievos of Persia from those of the Egyptians, the favourite themes of which are battles and triumphal processions! There the object of the artist has been to exhibit the characters of action and energy: here, those of repose. In its subjects, also, the Persian sculpture is distinguished from that of the Egyptians, as well as that of the Indians. While it occasionally delineated superhuman beings, such as feroohers and izeds, it abstained from the deities themselves. On the other hand, it is in close and perfect harmony with the architecture it accompanies. As the latter was lofty and grand, but not colossal, so was the former, and both characterized by a high degree of simplicity. It was the most obvious and natural idea with which the ancient artist could set about his work, to make the one the handmaid of the other, and the sculptor may be said to have given animation to the labours of the architect, by representing under emblematical figures the design of his works. Accordingly, as the different parts of the edifice combined to form a whole, so the various groups of sculpture composed one general design, and all, down to the most minute decorations, were in strict unison with one leading idea, associated with the religious opinions of the nation. With the exception of the fabulous animals, every thing was copied from nature; and from the parts of these monsters were borrowed nearly all the ornaments, consisting for the most part of the heads of unicorns and claws of griffins; and chimerical as these fabulous creations may at first sight appear, they are all capable of being reduced to four or five elementary forms of real animals, the horse, the lion, the onager or wild ass, the eagle, and the scorpion; to which we may perhaps add the rhinoceros.

In proportion, however, as the mythology at the command of the sculptor were limited, so his circle of observation, as applied to real nature, was extensive. He appears to have been familiar with the nations of more than one quarter of the globe, and to have distinguished with exactness their features and profiles; the thick lips and woolly hair of the negro being no less accurately marked than the limbs of the half-naked Indian. The same mechanical accuracy also and perfect finish, which distinguishes the architectural details, is observable in the labours of the sculptor. We may still count the nails in the wheels of the chariot in the great relievo; and the hair of the negro is so carefully wrought, that it is impossible to confound it with that of the Asiatics.[85] This sort of scrupulous care, which marks also the inscriptions, most of which also occur twice, appears in all countries to have distinguished the infancy of the art. It could hardly fail to appear in works pretending to nothing more than a faithful imitation of nature, and would of course disappear as soon as the artist caught a glimpse of ideal beauty. The manual skill, however, which it has called forth, is not the less remarkable.

We must now take our leave of the ruins of Persepolis. When an author is compelled to illustrate the scanty remains of ancient cities by means of the still more imperfect fragments of writers well nigh lost, he may not unfairly presume on the favourable allowance of his reader: in such a case the most certain sign of having erred, would be to attempt to explain every thing.

The province of Susiana adjoined that of Persis (Fars) to the west, and separated it from Babylonia. Though frequently treated as a part of Persis, it was made distinct from it in the arrangement of the satrapies, and formed a government by itself, nearly half as large as the chief district of that of Persia.[86] The way from the one to the other ran over a range of lofty and steep mountains, inhabited by rude and warlike tribes, of which the most celebrated were the Uxii. Such of this race as dwelt in the plain were subject to the satraps of Persia; but the mountaineers, a lawless race, were so far from yielding any such submission, that

[85] NIEBUHR, ii. p. 130, 147.

[86] It is mentioned as a separate satrapy by ARRIAN, iii. 17, and elsewhere.

they even extorted a tribute from the great king himself, as the price of his free passage across their heights from Susa to Persepolis.[87] They were supported by their flocks, which were so numerous, that Alexander the Great imposed upon them, as an act of grace, a yearly tribute of thirty thousand sheep, besides a large amount of cattle and horses.[88]

Susiana was inhabited by the Cissii, a race not properly Persian, but allied to the Persians, whom they resembled in manners and dress.[89] They enjoyed nearly the same climate, but the multitude of streams by which their territory was watered, (of which the most distinguished were the Eulæus, or Ulai of the Chaldæans, and the Choaspes,) conferred upon it a greater and more general fertility.[90] The country forms a perfect level of the richest soil, which formerly produced in abundance cotton, rice, sugar, and wheat. At present, a few spots excepted, a perfect wilderness, rarely visited even by travellers. Kinneir and his companion, Teignmouth, have been the first to afford us any information respecting it;[91] Porter himself not having visited it, but taking his information from the above travellers.[92] We cannot, therefore, be surprised that considerable obscurity continues to involve this region. Nevertheless it was one of the principal provinces of the Persian empire, and renowned for its fertility, as well as for its still more characteristic distinction, as the winter residence of the monarch. In its centre was situated Susa; a name no less familiar to the Greeks than to the Orientals; being celebrated by both as the usual residence of the Persian kings, selected by them, as it would seem, on account of its vi-

[87] ARRIAN, iii. 17; STRABO, p. 728.

[88] Ibid. loc. cit.

[89] HEROD. v. 49; vii. 62.

[90] Great confusion prevails among the ancient geographers with respect to the rivers of Susiana, (see STRABO, p. 1060,) which it is impossible to remove. Besides the Eulæus and Choaspes, ARRIAN (iii. 17) mentions also the Pasitigris, which must not, however, be confounded with the more recent Pasitigris, formed by the junction of the Tigris and Euphrates. KINNIER'S map represents the Eulæus as the Karroon, into which the Abzal empties itself; the Choaspes as the Kerah, and the Pasitigris as the Moras. The Karoon and Kerah unite, and are both connected by canals with the Shat-ul-Arab, their embouchures, however, being distinct. At the same time it is uncertain whether the Choaspes and Eulæus were the same river or not; and it is equally doubtful which of them is the Karoon or Kerah.

[91] KINNEIR, *Memoir of the Persian Empire*, etc.

[92] PORTER, vol. ii. p. 411, etc.

cinity to the gigantic Babylon.[93] Here were to be found all the structures essential to the luxury of a Persian royal residence, palaces, courts, and parks of prodigious extent;[94] every trace of which appears to have been destroyed by time. Wonderful as this may appear, after a survey of the ruins of Persepolis, historians have assigned a cause which appears an adequate one. The buildings of Susa were not, like those of Persepolis, constructed of marble, but more resembled those of Babylon, being built of bricks, hardened in the sun, and consequently exposed to the same destructive accidents which have annihilated the latter.[95] Even the site of Susa is now a matter of dispute. It has been generally sought in the modern Shuster, a considerable city on the Karoon; but more recent observations render it probable that the ancient Susa was situated forty-five miles to the west, at Sus on the Kerah.[96] At Shuster no remains occur indicating a high degree of antiquity, while those of Sus unquestionably belong to the Persico-Babylonian period. Hillocks of bricks are discovered, which correspond, according to the account of Strabo, with those of Babylon; the largest of these heaps having a circumference of two, the other of one mile, making together an extent of ten or twelve miles.[97] There can be no doubt, therefore, that this was the site of some great city. Teignmouth also observed here several sculptured blocks of marble, one, a drawing of which he has given, bearing on one side the figures of animals, and on the other an inscription in the

[93] Herod, v. 49, and still more, Strabo, p. 1058. Ezra, Nehemiah, Daniel, and the author of the book of Esther, all mention Susa as a royal residence.

[94] Esther i. 2, etc. Steph. v. Σοῦσα. [95] Strabo, p. 1059.

[96] Kinneir, *Memoir*, p. 101, etc., has detailed the arguments adduced by Rennel in favour of Sus, and by Vincent in favour of Shuster. Both these authors are disposed to make the position of the ancient Susa depend on the courses of the rivers of Susiana, which, according to the testimony of Kinneir, it is impossible to reconcile with the accounts of the ancients. (See p. 104.) The most decisive argument in favour of Sus, appears to me to be the correspondence between the remains observable there, and the account given by Strabo. Add to this its geographical position. Strabo, p. 1058, puts the distance from Persepolis to Susa at four thousand two hundred stadia, or four hundred and twenty geographical miles. The distance from Shuster, however, only amounts to seventy miles; that from Sus to eighty, in a direct line. According to Curtius, vol. iii., Alexander marched from Susa to the Pasitigris in four days. The latter river would thus appear to be the Karoon, which agrees with the hypothesis in favour of Sus.

[97] Kinneir, p. 101.

arrow-headed character, resembling those which occur at Babylon.[98] The adjacent district is now a mere waste, echoing only to the roar of the lion or the yell of the hyæna, but celebrated for a sanctuary, reported to be the tomb of Daniel; which, if it prove nothing more, is sufficient evidence that the traditions of the East pointed to this spot as the ancient Susa. The foundation of Susa has been differently ascribed to Cyrus and to Darius Hystaspis;[99] but it is from the period of the accession of the last-named king that it appears to have become the usual residence of the Persian monarchs. This city also owed its gradual aggrandizement to the residence of the court; but the poetic traditions of the Greeks ascribed to it a more remote and even heroic origin, attributing its foundation to Memnon, one of the demi-gods of the East, in consequence of which it was called Memnonium.[100] The period, however, of its prosperity, or rather of its historical renown, commenced with the dynasty of the Persians, and all that we know of its architecture, resembling that of Babylon, tends to prove that the Persians employed, in the erection of their buildings here, the natives of that conquered city, and borrowed from them their architecture.

The country to the north of Persia, as far as the confines of Media, was wild, and in part altogether deserted, filled up in a great measure by mountains bordering on the Great Salt Desert, of which we shall have occasion to speak hereafter. This mountainous tract was occupied by tribes of robbers, among whom the most considerable were the Parætaceni, a Median race,[1] and next to these the Cossæi, who possessed the mountains bordering on Media. These tribes continued to preserve their independence, notwithstanding their vicinity to the capital, and the insecurity they occasioned to travellers; compelling the king of Persia himself to purchase by a present the liberty of crossing their mountains, when he removed with his court in the spring

[98] See the drawing of PORTER, ii. 415.

[99] STRABO, p. 1059. PLINY, vi. 27.

[100] HEROD. v. 53, 54. STRABO, loc. cit. JACOBS *ueber die Gräber des Memnon*, has shown that Memnon was a fabulous hero, not an historical personage. The places in ancient authors, relative to Susa, have been collected by BRISSON, p. 88, etc.

[1] HEROD. i. 101.

of the year to Ecbatana.[2] Even Alexander, who overcame them in battle, and reduced their country to a satrapy, experienced the difficulty with which they were kept under the yoke.[3] His successors were unable to change the habits of these lawless tribes, yet it was principally under them that the Parætaceni became somewhat civilized, and applied themselves in a great degree to the cultivation of their territory.[4]

The road through the district of the Parætaceni led to another of the grand divisions of the empire, Media, one of the most extensive as well as most fertile regions of Asia. In extent it resembles Spain, lying also under pretty nearly the same degrees of latitude. In the time of the Persians it was not only one of the most fertile countries in the world, but one of the most highly cultivated; its inhabitants had long held the rank of a paramount nation.

A country so extensive, however, necessarily presented many varieties of soil and situation; and accordingly the northern or mountainous part,[5] subsequently called Media Minor or Atropatene,[6] was much more wild and less fertile than the southern, (Media Major or Irak-Ajami,) which spreads into spacious plains, diversified by gentle eminences. In this part, and particularly in the neighbourhood of the city of Nysa, were wide tracts of pasture abounding in the *herba medica* of the ancients, probably the same with our *clover*. Here also was found the finest race of horses then known in Asia, called, from the name of the city, the Nisæan, and distinguished no less for the beauty of their coats, which were of a pure white, than for their remarkable size, speed, and sureness of foot.[7] They were consequently in great request among the grandees of Persia, and became one of the principal objects of their lavish expense. The stock appears to be not even yet extinct, and Porter de-

[2] See STRABO, p. 796, from Nearchus.

[3] ARRIAN, iii. 19. [4] PLINY, vi. 26; MANNERT, v. 501.

[5] HEROD. i. 110; STRABO, p. 796; from whom the following particulars are taken.

[6] Called by the moderns Azerbijan. The name appears to have a reference to the religion of Zoroaster, the worship of fire; and has been explained by Anquetil from the Zend or ancient language of the country. *Zendavesta*, ii. p. 49.

[7] Compare HEROD. vii. 40; and a multitude of other places collected by BRISSON, p. 175 and 667.

scribes the shah as mounted, on grand occasions, on a horse whose natural colour was white.[8] As it was the custom of the Persian monarchs to exact from every province, under the form of tribute, its most valuable productions; so in this country they kept up a most numerous stud of these valuable animals, and reserved for them spacious pastures, from which a certain number were annually drafted for the king's use. In this manner Media contributed, in addition to her yearly tax in money, not less than three thousand horses, four thousand mules, and nearly one hundred thousand sheep.[9] Besides this astonishing supply of cattle, this country abounded also in some of the most valued fruits, not only grapes, but every variety of the orange or citron being natives of its soil.[10] The silphium also was found here, a vegetable anciently so highly prized that it was sold for its weight in gold; though at the same time that of Africa was thought much superior, and large plantations of it were formed in the interior of the district of Cyrene, on the borders of the Great Desert.[11]

When we recollect that the dress of the Medes became by the prevalence of fashion the habit of all the grandees of the Persian empire, and was recommended also by the fineness of the material and the brilliancy of the colours, we shall readily perceive that the natural advantages of this fine country were equalled by its manufactures.[12] Again, if the

[8] PORTER, i. p. 333. It appears to be the same race which we possess, by importation, in Germany. The plains where these celebrated pastures were situated appear to have lain between Casvin and Teheran (near the ancient Ragæ): MANNERT, v. p. 170. Even Porter, though possessed with the groundless notion that the Nisæan plains lay near Kermanshah, (i. 206,) was struck with the beauty and fleetness of the horses of the plains of Casvin, when he rode across them in the suite of the crown prince, Abbas Mirza: i. 299, 300.

[9] STRABO, p. 797.

[10] See the learned dissertation of BECKMANN, *Anleitung zur Waarenkunde*, i. p. 527, sqq.

[11] The silphium of the ancients is generally considered the same with *assafœtida*. Without entering into the question, which has been ably treated by BUDÆUS *ad Theoph.* vi. 3; I would simply remark, that the followers of Alexander found silphium in abundance on the lofty and cold mountains of Kandahar, ARRIAN, iii. 28. The most recent travellers have furnished us with the best information respecting it, and prove that assafœtida grows in Media, as well as in Kerman and Cabul; and still forms a considerable article of the commerce with India, where it is esteemed an article of luxury. KINNEIR'S *Geography*, p. 225; POTTINGER, *Travels*, i. p. 226.

[12] See above, p. 103.

conjecture I have hazarded possess any weight, and these dresses were either wholly or in part of silk, we obtain a glimpse of a commerce carried on with the countries on the further side of the desert, the illustration of which does not belong to the present place. Whatever may be the fate of this question, it is certain, from modern authorities, that the arts of weaving and dying were in a manner indigenous in these countries, and the Persian colours in particular have been always celebrated by contemporary writers, and only surpassed, in public estimation, by those of India.[13]

The capital of this important province was Ecbatana, the foundation of which, and its most ancient form, have been described by Herodotus.[14] Originally it was rather a fortress than a city, but subsequently it became not only the residence of the Median kings, but one of the places where the sovereigns of Persia were in the habit, at fixed periods, of taking up their abode. Thus it ranked among the first cities of Asia, and its palace was scarcely inferior in wealth and splendour to those of Susa and Babylon. We are enabled to affirm this with the greater certainty because an accurate description of it is contained in the writings of Polybius; an author who has never been accused of exaggeration; and whom, on this occasion, we have a double reason for citing, as his words establish beyond dispute the fact of the great abundance of the precious metals in Asia, even before the Persian period.[15]

He tells us that the royal palace was situated below the citadel, having a circumference of seven stades, and in all its parts displaying a magnificence which attested the wealth of its founders. Although all the wood-work was of cedar or cypress, no part of it was suffered to remain uncovered; the rafters, roofs, and columns of the halls and courts being overlaid with plates of gold and silver, and all the tiles being of silver. These plates were taken off by Alexander, Antiochus, and Seleucus Nicanor; nevertheless Antiochus the Great found there so much silver, that he was able to coin therefrom nearly four thousand talents.

If after two successive spoliations so much still remained, what riches must at one time have been accumulated here!

[13] Ctesias, *Indic.* 21.
[14] Herod. i. 98.
[15] Polyb. x. 27; Mannert, v. p. 160.

and what an idea must we not form of the splendour and magnificence of the ancient monarchs of Media! Ecbatana was situated either on the very site, or in the immediate neighbourhood, of the modern Hamadan, near Mount Orontes, now called Elwund.[16] But though its situation was never doubtful, the merit of having visited and investigated its precise position was reserved for Morier, and still more for Porter. The ancient city was built on a steep eminence, from which it descended on all sides to a fruitful plain, abundantly watered by streams which poured down from the lofty Orontes. Of the splendid palace of the Median and Persian kings nothing now remains, but the travellers above mentioned recognised without difficulty the terraces on which it had been constructed, and Porter even detected the holes in the rock, meant to receive the hinges of the great gates which closed the entrance.[17] Though no other vestige remained, an important relic was discovered by the same traveller in the base and shaft of a pillar, bearing evidently the Persepolitan character. The shaft was fluted, and about four inches less in diameter than the great pillars at Chehl-Menâr, and the ornaments of the capital clearly showed the form of the lotus leaf.[18] Morier also discovered, on a rock of the Orontes, two tablets or plane surfaces, with inscriptions in the arrow-headed character; each tablet being divided into three areæ, and thus evidently resembling those of Persepolis in the threefold repetition of the same inscription. The high rank which Ecbatana held among the cities of Asia was promoted by a concurrence of almost every possible advantage: a fruitful soil, a mild climate, the residence of a splendid court, and the vicinity of the great commercial high-road which traversed Asia from east to west, all combining to invest it with a degree of splendour, of which scarcely any vestiges remain in the modern Hamadan.

Media formed, under the Persians, a separate satrapy, but its limits are very difficult to be traced, as it was far from being the case that all the parts of that great country were given to the same government. Besides the Parætaceni mentioned above, (who, however, were Medes by de-

[16] PORTER, ii. p. 103, etc.; MORIER, ii. p. 267.
[17] PORTER, ii. p. 103, etc.; MORIER, ii. p. 267.
[18] PORTER, ii. 115; see the drawing in MORIER, ii. 269.

scent,) the inhabitants of the mountainous districts to the south of the Caspian were not included in this satrapy. Among these were the Tapyri and Mardi, whose names are in part preserved in those of Taberistan and Mazanderan, to which must probably be added the fertile region of Ghilan. The Tapyri were subject to the Persians, and formed a separate satrapy. On the other hand, the Mardi, a Persian race, inhabiting a district almost inaccessible in consequence of its mountains, and as poor as they were warlike, had found for a long time no conqueror bold enough to assail them, till they were subdued by Alexander, who joined their country to the satrapy of Taberistan.[19] They do not appear to have joined in the armament of Xerxes; at least they are not enumerated among the nations which composed it; both tribes, however, are mentioned as having fought on the side of Darius at Arbela, the Mardi as bowmen;[20] though it is very probable that they served for pay, or with the hope of plunder.

Aria, also, lying to the east of Media, properly belonged to that country, though distinguished from it in the catalogue of Persian satrapies. It derived its name from the river Arius, the modern Heri, and the Arians and Medes were originally the same race, the Medes, according to Herodotus, having anciently borne the name of Arians.[21] Either the dynasty of the Medes had already dissolved this union, or the Persians judged it expedient to weaken a race once so powerful by subdividing it, and thus Aria came to be formed into a distinct satrapy,[22] and the Arians to rank as a separate race.[23] The passage from Media into this territory was through the Caspian gates, (Caspiæ Pylæ,) consisting in a strong and narrow strait lying between the two countries; a day's journey from the modern Rey or Rages, near Teheran.[24] We learn from several instances that the

[19] ARRIAN, iii. 23, 24.

[20] Ibid. iii. 11.

[21] HEROD. vii. 62. It is apparent from the same place, that what were called the Median habits were not confined to Media Proper, but extended to the countries lying eastward; and as these touched on Bactra, we cannot be surprised at the conformity which prevailed.

[22] Aria is mentioned as a separate satrapy by ARRIAN, iii. 25, and elsewhere. He does not apply the term in the restricted sense in which it is used by Strabo, but uses it to comprehend part of Media, as far as Arachotus.

[23] HEROD. vii. 66.

[24] In the mountainous regions surrounding the Caspian were a multitude

Persians were accustomed to fortify such positions with walls and iron gates, to repress the incursions of predatory tribes; a precaution especially necessary in the present instance.

Aria differed essentially from Media, as it consisted of an extensive steppe, partially marked by more fertile and better cultivated districts. It is the more important to form a correct idea of the characteristics of this great country, (embracing the southern part of Khorassan, the northern part of Kerman, and Sehestan towards the east,) because it helps to determine the course of the great commercial highway from Eastern to Western Asia. The interior of the steppe alluded to forms a desert connected with those of Kerman or Carmania, in which it may be said to merge. Its western extremity is so impregnated with salt, that the earth appears to be covered with it, and the name of the Salt Desert has been in consequence bestowed upon it.

It begins on the further side of the chain of mountains formerly inhabited by the predatory tribes already mentioned, and presents nearly the appearance of a tract covered with snow. The desert extends, however, beyond the portion thus covered with salt, stretching (with partial interruptions) about three hundred and twenty geographical miles from east to west, and for the most part nearly as far from north to south. To the north it is bounded by the chain of Taurus,[25] at the foot of which, between the latitudes of thirty-five and thirty-six degrees, run the great commercial highways; the desert itself being scarcely passable even in the winter months, and entirely so during those of summer. To the south, the waste is bounded by the mountains of Kerman and Beloochistan, about the thirtieth degree of latitude. We have recently obtained more accurate information respecting these districts, since two English offi-

of such narrow straits, which received the general appellation of Caspiæ Pylæ, inasmuch as they led to that sea. The pass, however, between Aria and Media was pre-eminently so named. STRABO, p. 796. Authors are perfectly agreed with respect to its position.

[25] The large map of Kinneir, which I use, gives the best delineation of the course of this chain of mountains, which stretches, with some moderate deviations from the direct line, as far as the neighbourhood of Cabul, from the Caspiæ Pylæ; from the fifty-first to the sixty-eighth degree of longitude. At the latter point it first diverges into minor branches extending north and south, and filling up the boundaries of Hindustan.

cers, named Pottinger and Christie, have had the hardihood to traverse them under the characters of horse-dealers and pilgrims. In their interior is situated a considerable lake, called the lake of Zurra; unquestionably the *Aria palus* of antiquity. A large river, anciently bearing the same name, at present called the Ilmend, empties itself into this inland sea, from the deserts to the south-east; and Christie fell in with another stream, further to the north, called the Herat, near a town of the same name. The banks of this stream are distinguished by a high degree of fertility, and verify all that Strabo has recorded of Aria: but it must be observed that this fertility is confined to the neighbourhood of the river. The banks of the Ilmend, says Christie, are well cultivated and fertile; the soil being of a dark colour and well watered. The greatest breadth, however, of this fruitful district is not above two miles, when the desert with high cliffs again appears, and continues without water or vegetation to the great trading highway from Herat to Candahar. The valley also in which Herat is situated, even now a city of nearly one hundred thousand inhabitants, is exceedingly fertile. Maize, roggen, and fruit, are produced in abundance. Numerous villages are scattered round the city, which is one of the first trading places of Asia, and celebrated for breeding horses and camels.

I consider (with Kinneir) the city of Herat to be the same with the ancient Aria, or, as it was also called, Artacoana;[26] a city at all times of importance, as lying on the great commercial highway leading to Candahar, Cabul, and the whole of northern India. By following this tract it was possible to avoid the mountains of Hyrcania, at the foot of which the roads in question ran, and consequently to avoid the lawless tribes which occupied those heights.

[26] MANNERT, v. p. 98, has already shown that Aria and Artacoana are the same. I am inclined to think that it was also the same with the more recent Alexandria Ariana. Arrian does not inform us of the foundation by Alexander of any new city in this country; nor does his rapid passage through it countenance such a supposition. Several ancient cities received new names from their Macedonian conquerors. We are told that Alexander, on his march to Bactriana, inclined to the south to visit Aria. This corresponds with the site of Herat, which, according to Kinneir's map, lies in lat. $34\frac{1}{2}°$, to the south, not, as Mannert asserts, to the north, of the great mountain chain. Compare by all means, KINNEIR, *Geograph.* 181, 182, for an account of the commercial importance of Herat.

The mountainous districts just mentioned, Parthia and Hyrcania, (the modern Corcan,) formed under the Persians a single satrapy, which they also continued to do under Alexander.[27] Parthia, a rude and confined district, was one of the poorest provinces of all the empire. The Persian monarchs, with their countless suite, were in the habit of traversing it with all possible speed, it being too poor to subsist their followers if they made any halt, little suspecting that this rude race of horsemen would eventually descend from their mountains to seize (as their own forefathers had done) the empire of all Asia.

The more fertile Hyrcania (the valleys of which were distinguished by luxuriant vegetation) does not appear to have been much better cultivated. The sides of the hills were clothed with impenetrable forests, seemingly intended by Providence to supply wood for the navigation of the Caspian, though the inhabitants of the country appear never to have converted them to such a purpose. The capital of the country was called Zadracarta, which also was once a royal residence;[28] and according to Arrian's account must have been situated on the great highway at the foot of the mountains.

To the north of these districts, in the sandy wastes of Khievan, to the east of the Caspian, wandered a mixed multitude of nomad tribes, many of which are often mentioned as forming part of the Persian armies, but who still retained their character of independent nations, only paying a tribute when compelled by circumstances. Of the number of these were the Dahæ, (whose appellation survives in the modern Dahestan,) the Paricanii, and others whom we shall have occasion to mention in the sequel of this work.

Adjacent to Aria was Bactriana,[29] one of the richest and

[27] STRABO, 782. Compare ARRIAN, iii. 22.

[28] *Βασιλεία*. ARRIAN, loc. cit. I consider Zadracarta to have been situated in the neighbourhood of Naisabour.

[29] Between Aria and Bactriana the more recent Greek geographers place the province of Margiana, deriving its name from the desert-stream of the Margus (Morg). Under the Persians, however, Margiana did not form a distinct satrapy, but belonged partly to Aria, and partly to Bactriana. It first acquired the name of Margiana when Antiochus Soter founded here a city, which he called after himself, when he surrounded with a wall (fifteen hundred stades in circuit) the fertile district by which it was environed, where the vines are said to have attained a thickness in the stem equal to that of ordinary trees. STRABO, p. 785.

most considerable satrapies of the empire,[30] at present known under the name of Balkh. Bactriana was situated to the north of India, along the course of the Oxus or Gihoon, one of the principal rivers of Asia, which bounded it to the north; dividing it from Sogdiana. This advantageous position soon caused it to become one of the best cultivated parts of all the continent, and its capital was, according to the traditions of the East, the seat of powerful and independent princes long before the dynasty of the Persians; and the satraps by whom it was governed under the latter frequently sought occasions of attempting to make themselves independent.[31] Nay, even after the overthrow of that empire, Bessus assumed there the title of monarch of all Asia.[32] The principal city, of the same name with the territory, was situated on a little river which empties itself into the Oxus. It has been often identified with Zariaspa, but the followers of Alexander speak of Bactra and Zariaspa as two distinct cities.[33] In consequence of the fertility of its soil and its fortunate position, Bactriana was at all times one of the most wealthy regions of Asia. It was destined by nature herself to be the first place of exchange for the productions of India, which it purchased with those of its own climate. The great highways of communication from east to west ran, as we shall have occasion to show, at the foot of the surrounding mountains, and were directed towards its capital. The vicinity of the gold districts of India rendered it, at the same period, the centre of the commerce of the continent, and as early as the remotest period of history it was illumined by a degree of mild civilization, of which the last reflection may be traced amid the ruins of Persepolis. It is greatly to be regretted that these general facts are all which we can affirm with certainty respecting the earlier history of Bactra. Even the followers of Alexander have scarcely preserved for us any other information than that the conqueror visited this country, and left a considerable detachment of his army, (fourteen thousand men,)

[30] Bactriana is frequently mentioned as a distinct satrapy. See ARRIAN, iii. 21, and elsewhere.

[31] CTESIAS, *Pers.* cap. 8, etc. Ctesias always speaks of Bactriana as a principal province of the Persian empire; concerning which the remarks already made on the ruins of Persepolis afford some light.

[32] ARRIAN, iii. 25. [33] See the places in CELLARIUS, ii. p. 711.

to keep possession of it :[34] a sufficient proof of the importance he attached to its conquest.

No modern traveller has penetrated as far as Balkh, and we are indebted to Mr. Elphinstone for a few particulars respecting it, collected in Cabul.[35]

Balkh, at present subject to the Usbeck Tartars, is situated to the north of the Hindoo-koh, which sinks with a rapid declivity towards the Oxus, thus rendering the climate more temperate. The city of Balkh enjoys among the Asiatics the reputation of being the most ancient in the world, and the cradle of their kings ; for which reason it is styled the mother of cities. At the present day it is of inconsiderable extent ;[36] a part only being inhabited, while its ruins extend in every direction, and attest the ancient grandeur of the place. The country about it is fertile, being watered by eighteen canals, which derive their water from a great reservoir among the mountains.

On the further side of the Oxus lay the northernmost of all the provinces of Persia, Sogdiana.[37] It was bounded to the south by the river just mentioned, and to the north by another, flowing in a parallel direction into the Caspian Sea, at present called the Sirr-Daria, anciently the Jaxartes. Of the latter river, we know that its principal branch formerly was the now nearly dry channel of the Jan-Daria, towards the south, whereas at present it is the northernmost of the two branches, which, though eight hundred feet wide, steals slowly along through forests of reeds.[38] Neither of these rivers at present flow into the Caspian, but lose themselves in the sea of Aral, a lake not named by the ancients. The sandy desert, however, between the Aral and the Caspian, still shows traces of their ancient course, though their arms are at present choked with mud. The northern portion of Great Bucharia now represents the ancient Sogdiana, but the old appellation is still preserved in that of the territory adjacent to the capital, Samarcand, or Maracanda, which is called Al-Sogd.

This district is one of high importance in history, not

[34] ARRIAN, iv. 22. [35] ELPHINSTONE, *Account of Cabul*, p. 462, etc.

[36] KINNEIR, in his Geography, speaks of it as containing at present from six to seven thousand inhabitants.

[37] Sogdiana is mentioned as a distinct satrapy by ARRIAN, iv. 15, etc.

[38] According to the accounts of Russian travellers referred to below.

only on account of its natural productions, but also for its commerce. It formed, as it were, by its very position, the line of demarcation between the agricultural and pastoral regions, and consequently has at all times been inhabited by tribes belonging to both classes: by the wandering hordes which have probably broken in from the north of Asia, and have often made themselves absolute masters of the country; and by those who may be more properly termed its inhabitants, occupying established seats, and devoting themselves to agriculture and commerce. In the same manner as the Bucharians are now distinguished in their character and habits from the Usbeck Tartars,[39] so in the days of Alexander the Sogdiani were distinct from the wandering hordes of Scythians, whose immense bands of horsemen traversed the country with their herds and tents, eager to avail themselves of every occasion for surprising a booty, and prepared, on the approach of superior forces, to fly back to their steppes and deserts, where no one could follow them.[40]

It is only within the last few years that the commercial enterprises of the Russians have supplied us with some more accurate data respecting the present condition of this country.[41] The caravans of that nation travel from Orenburg to Khieva and Bokhara, and have contributed to throw light on the steppes of Central Asia, as well as of Bucharia, at least towards the west. It has, in this manner, become evident that the face of this country has in part undergone important changes; and the fact of the perpetual recession[42] of the sea of Aral, with the circumstance of a level bed of sand lying between it and the Caspian, containing smaller

[39] MÜLLER'S *Sammlung Russ. Geschichten*, vol. iv. p. 205. The Usbeck Tartars, and their khans, are the lords of the country, and form, as it were, the *noblesse;* while the great mass of the population (perhaps three-fourths) consist of the Taidshees, or old stationary inhabitants, who having no share in the government, devote themselves to commerce and agriculture.

[40] The best account of Sogdiana is to be found in ARRIAN, vol. iv. p. 2, etc. He makes a broad distinction between the Sogdiani, living in cities, and the nomad Scythians, of whom a host, to the number of thirty thousand men, were then scattered over the country.

[41] Particularly on occasion of the great caravan to Bokhara of the year 1820, which Dr. Eversmann accompanied as physician, and my respected friend the Col. Baron von Meyendorf, as one of the escort. The former has published his *Journey from Orenburg to Bokhara*, Berlin, 1823, Lichtenstein. To the latter I am indebted for many MS. notes; to which I shall also have occasion to refer when I come to speak of the Scythian tribes.

[42] EVERSMANN'S *Reise*, p. 65.

salt lakes, leave no reasonable ground for doubting that anciently the sea of Aral was united with the Caspian; a sufficient reason why the former should not have been mentioned by ancient geographers.[43] The former channel of the Oxus also may still be traced to the Caspian,[44] and the tradition of the inhabitants of the adjacent plains is, that it was first deserted in the sixteenth century, in consequence of an earthquake; and it is even thought not impossible to restore the river to its ancient course. The country has also suffered the greatest changes from the perpetual encroachment of sand from the north and west, which no art or power of man has proved able to restrain, and which has converted into deserts what were once fertile districts. In consequence of the thinness of the soil, it is dependent for its fertility on artificial irrigation, effected by means of innumerable watercourses of various sizes; owing to which not only the country round Bokhara, but the whole territory as far as Samarcand, has been brought into a state of cultivation resembling that of a garden.[45] The same is the case with the territory of Khieva on the Oxus.[46] On the other hand, the northern part of this country, as far as the neighbourhood of Bokhara, is a waste, and in many places a complete desert of sand, extending, under the appellation of the Red Desert, to the distance of five days' journey.[47]

Samarcand, the birth-place in after times of the renowned Timour, was in the time of the Persians a flourishing city. Anciently it was called Maracanda, and ranked as the royal city of the Sogdiani, having at one time, though afterwards reduced to the government of a Persian satrap, been ruled, (it is probable,) like many other Asiatic nations, by monarchs of its own. The surrounding district was so celebrated throughout the East for its fertility, that it ranked among the paradises of Asia, and the commerce of barter

[43] EVERSMANN'S *Reise*, pp. 81, 86.

[44] This is also affirmed by the testimony of another eyewitness, MURAVIEF, (*Voyage en Turcomanie et à Chiwa*, 1819, 1820. Paris, 1823,) who travelled from Bacou across the Caspian Sea to Khieva.

[45] EVERSMANN, p. 86.

[46] See MURAVIEF, loc. cit. I can scarcely doubt that the district about Khieva is the same with that which HERODOTUS (iii. 117) describes as artificially irrigated by watercourses from the Aces (Oxus); and which paid an annual tribute to the king of Persia.

[47] EVERSMANN, p. 52.

between the productions of India and those of this country formed at all times one of the most considerable branches of trade.[48] Maracanda was in fact what Bokhara now is, one of the chief marts for the commerce of all the continent.[49] It is a pity that the route of the Russian caravans did not pass through this city; at the same time it appears, from information collected at Bokhara, that Samarcand still possesses a population of about fifty thousand inhabitants, but without retaining its ancient importance as a commercial city, which must be ascribed in part to the residence of the khan at Balkh, and partly to the more difficult nature of its communication with that city, lying as it does across a mountainous country; while the road from the latter place to Bokhara runs along a plain. On the other hand, in proportion as the traveller proceeds from Bokhara to the sea of Aral and the Caspian, he discovers a country more and more desolate, the haunt of wandering tribes of the Turcoman race. In the days of the Persians these were much more formidable than at present, both for strength and numbers; a fact which we can affirm with certainty on the authority of our faithful guide Herodotus, who is no where more copious in information than here. He appears, as it were, to be peculiarly at home in describing and distinguishing the different races of these remote nomad nations, to the admiration of all succeeding historians. I shall, however, defer for a later portion of my undertaking an examination of the evidence he has thus afforded us respecting the tribes of Central Asia, when I shall have occasion to revert to these regions.

To protect themselves against the incursions of these nations, and to fence, as it were, the boundaries of their empire, the Persians adopted the plan of forming a line of cities in the neighbourhood, or along the very banks, of the Jaxartes. Seven fortified places of this description were erected,[50] the strongest of which appears to have been founded by Cyrus himself, whose name it bore.[51] This was protected

[48] *Hist. General. des Tart.* p. 278; cf. STRABO, p. 785.

[49] EVERSMANN, p. 76, etc. The caravans from Cabul, Cashmir, Cashgar, Urgentz, and Orenburg all meet at Bokhara; which is also the principal mart for precious stones and indigo.

[50] ARRIAN, iv. 2.

[51] It was called by the Greeks Cyreschata, or the most remote city of Cy-

by a citadel, and contained a garrison of eighteen thousand men; but the rest appear to have been places of no great consequence, and calculated, (it is probable,) only to withstand the loose assaults of predatory hordes, as appears from the fact that Alexander took them all in the course of a few days, and founded here a new city called after his own name. The place was designed partly to answer the same purposes with the preceding, partly as a point of peaceful intercourse with the nations of Central Asia.[52] Even at the present day may be discovered on the banks of the Jan-Daria,[53] once the principal stream of the Jaxartes, hillocks of ruins, the age of which I cannot venture to determine with certainty.

We have now reached the limits of the Persian empire, before crossing which and taking a glimpse of the adjacent districts of India, we must revert to its southern provinces, extending from Persia Proper along the shores of the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean. In proportion as the present state of these countries is involved in obscurity, we must be surprised to find that they were anciently illumined by a degree of light and certainty which does not attach to many other regions less remote in their situation and more distinguished in their history. For this we are indebted to the companions of Alexander and to the historian Arrian, who has preserved the information they afforded. Neither the difficulties nor the dangers with which such a route is beset could deter the Macedonian conqueror from marching across these dreary provinces in his return from India, though he knew that he was risking the fruits of all his victories by exposing his army to the most formidable of all adversaries, famine and thirst. If, however, there be any point in the history of Alexander which more than another proves his inflexible adherence to a resolution once adopted, as well as the discipline of his army, which was proof against the extremities of want, and circumstances little short of desperate, it is this celebrated retreat; concerning which his more recent historians have indulged in the most childish exaggerations.[54]

rus. Other writers, however, have already shown that this was probably a corruption for Corascarta or Corescarta, (the city of Cyrus,) like Tigranocerta, etc. Cf. STEPH. *de Urb.* s. v. *κύρου πόλις* et ibi not.

[52] ARRIAN, iv. 3. [53] EVERSMANN'S *Reise*, pp. 49, 50. [54] ARRIAN, vi. 28.

Next to Persis came the province of Carmania (the modern Kerman[55]); divided from the former by a river which empties itself into the sea, opposite to the island of Catæa or Kais,[56] and extending not only along the shores of the Persian Gulf, but, beyond these, as far as Gedrosia or Makran.

Under the Persians, Carmania formed a satrapy by itself, the inhabitants of which in speech, manners, and arms resembled the Persians.[57] The flat shore of the Persian Gulf was only in parts sandy, and sprinkled with the huts of a race of fishermen, while in other parts fruitful fields extended to the very margin of the sea, among which the beautiful plain of Ormus, over against an island of the same name, deserves to be specified.[58] At a certain distance from the sea, the country swelled into eminences, and abounded in a variety of natural productions. Fruits of every kind, particularly olives and grapes, were found there in the greatest perfection. The beds of the rivers also, which are numerous, are said to have afforded traces of the more precious metals, and the followers of Alexander have made mention of two mountains, one of which produced arsenic, and the other salt.[59] Further to the north, the country became less productive, and ended in a spacious salt desert, extending as far as Parætacene,[60] with which the travels and researches of Pottinger have made us better acquainted. It takes in by far the greater part of Carmania,[61] stretching from the 30° to the 34° of N. lat., and from the 52° to the 56° of long.; and according to the limits laid down by Strabo, loses itself in the steppes of Ariana. In consequence, however, of the saline quality of the soil, it is peculiarly well adapted for the feeding of sheep, and it is well known that the modern Kerman produces the finest wool, which was anciently supposed to be obtained, not by the process of shearing, but by that of combing, and by gathering what

[55] We must be careful not to confound this with the present Caramania, the southern part of Asia Minor.

[56] Arrian, *Indica Op.* p. 194, ed. Steph.

[57] Arrian, loc. cit.; and in his *Exped. Alex.* vi. 27.

[58] Nearchus in Arrian, *Ind.* p. 191. *Harmozia.* For a more complete account see the chapter on the trade of the Babylonians, containing a description of the Persian Gulf, vol. ii. p. 220, sq.

[59] Strabo, p. 1057. [60] Ibid. loc. cit. [61] Pottinger's *Travels*, p. 229.

fell off of itself;[62] an error which the latest travellers have corrected.[63] Kerman, the metropolis, anciently Carmania, is celebrated throughout all Asia for its manufacture of shawls, which are as fine, but not as soft, as those of Cashmir.[64] In the time of the Persians Carmania was far better cultivated than at present, and it is therefore to be supposed, that its ancient inhabitants improved the facilities for disposing of their wool, afforded them by the manufactures of Persia and Babylonia.

The coast from Kerman to the confines of India, at the present day rarely visited and little known, was anciently comprehended under the name of Gedrosia, which is no longer to be traced in the modern appellation of Makran. This was the most desolate and sterile of all the countries subject to Persia. The coast of the Indian Ocean, and great part of the interior, forms a sandy desert, traversed indeed by many watercourses, in their general state without water, but after rain has fallen on the mountains to the north, swelling into floods, which overspread the whole surrounding district, and carry away every thing within their reach.[65] The districts bordering on India were, in the time of Alexander, fruitful in aromatic trees and shrubs, particularly the myrrh and nardus, which here flourished in great abundance and perfection; and the Phœnicians who accompanied the army of that conqueror, being well acquainted with the value of these commodities, loaded their beasts of burden with what they collected.[66] These signs of vegetation, however, quickly disappeared, and as the country stretched further and further to the west, it was found to increase in sterility, till it ended in an utter desert. The traces of a road were often effaced by the sand drifted by the wind, and even the guides were compelled to trace their course by the stars.

The interior of the country contains, however, a capital named Puhra, which Alexander reached after many difficulties and dangers, by a march of sixty days, from the

[62] TAVERNIER, i. p. 87. BECKMANN'S *Waarenkunde*, i. p. 476.

[63] POTTINGER, p. 225, has given us some accurate information respecting the race of sheep found there, which immediately degenerates in other countries.

[64] POTTINGER, p. 226.

[65] ARRIAN, vi. 25.

[66] ARRIAN, vi. 22, from whom also the following particulars are taken.

borders of the Oritæ.[67] He was, however, compelled once more to commit himself and his army to the desert, which terminated only on the confines of Carmania. While the king was traversing the interior, his fleet, under the command of Nearchus, followed the sea-coast to the Persian Gulf; and that officer has bequeathed us a description of those shores, so accurate, that a mariner might, even in the present day, safely steer by it.[68] The inhabitants of this sea-coast were savages, living almost entirely on fish, and consequently distinguished by the general appellation of Ichthyophagi. "Few of these people," says Nearchus,[69] "obtain the fish by fishing, for few of them possess the proper boats, or understand the art: most of the fish being caught on the retreat of the tide. Some, however, have nets fit for this purpose, frequently two stades in length. These nets are woven out of the bark of the date tree, which is twisted after the manner of flax. When the sea has retreated, and the land appears, the dry parts of the shore are of course destitute of fish, but wherever the tide remains in hollows of the beach, they are found in great numbers, some small, others large, which are taken with nets. Of these, the more tender kinds they devour raw, as they take them out of the water; the larger and tougher they bake in the sun, and when dry, grind into a sort of meal, of which they form loaves, while others convert the same into a sort of pudding. Even their cattle feed in like manner on dried fish, for their country is destitute of meadows and bare of grass. They also take, in many places, crabs, oysters, and shellfish; and salt is naturally formed in their country, from

[67] I can scarcely doubt but this is the modern Puhra, which Pottinger describes as a very small but well-built city of four hundred houses, in the midst of a wood of date trees, which afford its inhabitants a considerable revenue. Pottinger visited the spot, and has laid it down in his map at 28° of lat., and 60° 15′ long. It is clear from the account of Arrian, that Alexander penetrated far into the country, for the purpose of procuring supplies of corn and dates, which were not to be obtained in the desert.

[68] Since the appearance of the first edition of the present work, great light has been thrown on the sea-coasts of Gedrosia and Carmania, by the *Periplus* of Nearchus, by Dr. Vincent, London, 1798. The learned author has availed himself of the charts and plans of two officers of the East India Company, appointed to survey these shores. This comparison of the accounts of the British captains with those of Alexander's admiral, has proved highly to the advantage of the reputation of the latter. We are enabled, in fact, to verify almost all his statements.

[69] Arrian, *Indic.* xxix.

which they concoct a sort of oil (?). Some of these people inhabit desolate situations, destitute of wood, and producing no cultivated crops, and these depend entirely on fish for their subsistence. A few, however, cultivate some small portion of land, and make the bread they obtain a sort of side-dish; fish being their main support. The better sort among them construct houses by collecting the bones of cetaceous fishes cast on shore by the ocean, which serve for the frame-work of their habitations; the broadest bones being converted into doors, while the poorer construct their huts of the bones of the fish they catch."

The habits of this miserable race continue to be the same as they were two thousand years ago, the fodder of their cattle not excepted.[70] They turned their fish to every possible account, and the rich and poor were distinguished, as we have seen, by the size of the bones they collected from this grand source of their subsistence. The people at large are those now denominated Ballooches, and have been rescued from obscurity principally by the observations of Pottinger and Christie. They extend far into the interior, and the description of them, which the followers of Alexander have handed down to us, in consequence of their march through their territory, is far from attractive. The prisoners, we are told, had hairy bodies, and nails resembling the talons of wild beasts, and were habited in the hides of animals taken in the chase, and the skins of fish. The Ballooches continue to be a race of banditti, practising systematic robbery. They are distinguished into two races, differing in speech, origin, and figure; the Ballooches, properly so called, and the Brahoos; which, nevertheless, in consequence of long-continued intercourse, have come to regard themselves as one nation. Neither race possesses any history, but in point of language, as well as figure, the Ballooches appear to belong to the Persian, and the Brahoos to the Indian stock. Their pastoral lives preclude them from occupying fixed abodes; and they are subdivided into a multitude of

[70] See NIEBUHR's *Account of Arabia*, p. 310; and compare MARCO POLO, in *Ramusio*, ii. p. 60; who gives the same account of this race. The most recent information we possess, afforded by MORIER, vol. i. p. 50, who visited this coast, confirms this statement.

clans, subject to chieftains, who pay little regard to the authority of the monarchs of eastern or western Persia.[71]

The desolation which marked the coast ceased to prevail in the interior, and a more fertile district commenced with the range of mountains, where the province of Arachosia (or Arokhage) bordered on Gedrosia, and was marked by superior cultivation and a numerous population.[72] The latter province was united in the same satrapy with Gedrosia, and continued to be so under Alexander,[73] though the Persians appear to have given themselves little concern about that desolate coast and its savage inhabitants; at all events the Gedrosians are not enumerated either among the nations of which their armies were composed, or among those which paid them tribute. They were protected by their poverty, the only effectual protection against the ambition of their conquerors.

The territory of the Zarangæi was, however, distinct from this satrapy, and formed a part of the modern Sehestan; the ancient appellation being still partly preserved in the name of the capital, Zarang.[74] It is an extensive district, for the most part level; bounded to the south by Gedrosia, to the north by Bactriana, to the east by Arachosia, and to the west by Aria. From the latter region it is separated by the mighty lake of the desert, the sea of Arius or Zurra, the receptacle of all the inferior streams which water this and the neighbouring countries. It formed under the Persians a distinct satrapy,[75] and its inhabitants are enumerated not

[71] POTTINGER, p. 53, etc.; p. 270, etc.

[72] Rennell has inserted in his map the name of Arokhage, which is not given in those of Kinneir and Pottinger. I consider it to be the Saravan of Pottinger; a province of the modern Balloochistan, the capital being Kelat; for an account of which we are indebted to POTTINGER, *Travels*, p. 264. It continues to be the principal province of Balloochistan. When Pottinger attempts to prove that Arachosia lay further to the north, in Kandahar, he is undoubtedly in an error. The march of Craterus, to which he refers, cannot have extended so far northward. Arachosia must necessarily have bordered upon Gedrosia (Makran) to the south, being united with it in the same satrapy.

[73] ARRIAN, vi. 27.

[74] In Kinneir's map it is set down as Dooshak or Zullaba, with the addition, however, of the name of Zaranga. It was situated thirty-six miles from Herat, on the Il-mend, in 32° N. lat. which agrees with what might be expected to be its position. MANNERT, v. p. 71. We can scarcely err, therefore, in supposing this to be the city in question.

[75] ARRIAN, iii. 25.

only in the catalogue of the tributaries of Darius, but in that of the army of Xerxes. They appear to have been one of the more civilized nations, and were distinguished in the army of Xerxes by the beauty of their coloured vestments,[76] either having manufactures of their own, or obtaining them by the course of commerce from India and Persia. At the present day also the great caravan road from Ispahan to Kandahar passes by their capital.[77]

The country of the Zarangæi was bordered to the east by the mountains of Kandahar, which, under the name of Hindu-koh represent the Indian Caucasus of the Greeks; surrounded by several inferior tribes, such as the Drangæ and Dragogi, through whose territory it was necessary to pass on the way to Arachotus. It is the more necessary to specify these nations, because they have been frequently confounded with the Zarangæi, from whom, nevertheless, they were perfectly distinct.[78] It is not certain whether they were subject to the Persian dominion, or lived as a free race of mountaineers; their poverty, and the inclemency of their native country, in which Alexander suffered no less from cold and snow than from hunger, appear to have been their protection.[79] Their name has so completely perished, that, even with the assistance of the best modern maps, it would be a hopeless task to attempt to identify in detail their places of abode. We must not, however, omit to notice another inconsiderable tribe in their vicinity, styled by the Greeks Evergetæ, or Benefactors, but anciently called Agriaspæ. These enjoyed the privilege of paying no tribute, but on the contrary were permitted in a manner to retain their own free constitution.[80] It is said that this immunity was granted in recompence for a service performed to the army of Cyrus, when that conqueror, during an expedition against the nomads, fell into great straits for want of provisions, and this people voluntarily contributed thirty thousand waggon-loads of corn; for which they were honoured by the appellation of the king's benefactors. Strange as this story may

[76] HEROD. vii. 67.

[77] TAVERNIER, i. p. 626. In KINNEIR's map it inclines somewhat more to the north.

[78] ARRIAN, iii. 28. Even the maps of Danville are not exempt from this error.

[79] ARRIAN, loc. cit.

[80] Ibid. iii. p. 27; cf. DIODORUS, ii. 222.

appear, it is perfectly in unison with Persian manners, among whom whosoever had the good fortune to perform a personal service to the monarch obtained the title of the king's benefactor. His name was immediately enrolled by the court secretaries in the list of those thus distinguished, together with the service which he had rendered. As such he possessed the highest claim to the monarch's gratitude, whose honour demanded that he should requite the benefit received by some distinguished favour.[81] Accordingly, it was consistent with the dignity and honour of Cyrus that he should accord to the entire nation the appellation of his benefactors; and the reward which accompanied this distinction was, in the opinion of the Persians, a necessary consequence of such a title.

III. PERSIAN INDIA.

I HAVE now conducted my reader as far as the most eastern provinces of the Persian empire, and the confines of India; of which country also a portion was subject to the great king, and composed a separate satrapy. The limits, however, of this satrapy are lost in uncertainty, and it is impossible to throw any light on the subject without extending the present researches to the whole of Hindustan then known, or which, at the fall of the Persian empire, emerged from obscurity. By Persian India, therefore, we must be understood to mean, not only the portion which was subject to Persia, but all with which the Persians were acquainted; standing as it did in a certain relation to that empire, and being naturally connected with its geographical and statistical survey. We shall reserve for a separate portion of this work our general observations on ancient India.

Two observations must, however, be premised, without which the following remarks cannot be properly understood.

When we speak of ancient India we must not be understood to mean the whole of Hindustan, but chiefly the northern parts of it, or the countries between the Indus and Ganges; though we are far from asserting that the rest of

[81] BRISSON, p. 194. The custom is not even yet extinct, and he who brings good tidings to the king is entitled to a reward. MORIER, ii. 103.

that peninsula, particularly its western coast, was then utterly unknown. It was from this quarter that the Persians and the Greeks (to whom we are indebted for the earliest accounts of India) invaded the country; and this was consequently the region which must first have become generally known. The countries bordering on the Ganges continued to be involved in obscurity; the great kingdom of the Prasians excepted, which, situated nearly above the modern Bengal, was dimly discernible. The nearer we approach the Indus, the more clear becomes our knowledge of the ancient geography of the country; and it follows, that the districts of which, at the present day, we know the least, were anciently best known.

2ndly. The western and northern boundaries of India were not then the same as at present. To the west, it was not then bounded by the river Indus, but by a chain of mountains which, under the name of Koh, (whence the Grecian appellation of the Indian Caucasus,) extended from Bactriana to Makran, or Gedrosia, enclosing the kingdoms of Kandahar and Cabul, the modern kingdom of Eastern Persia, or Afghanistan. These districts anciently formed a part of India, as well as (further to the south) the less perfectly known country of the Arabi and Haurs, bordering on Gedrosia, and which bore of old the same appellations.[1] Concerning the latter districts we have recently obtained more accurate information from the narrative of Pottinger; as the work of Elphinstone has made us better acquainted with the former. This western boundary continued at all times the same, and was removed to the Indus only in consequence of the conquests of Nadir-Shah.[2] Nor was ancient India less widely extended towards the north. The whole of the mountainous region above Cashmir, Badakshan, Beloor-Land, the western boundary mountains of Little Bucharia, or Little Thibet, and even the desert of Cobi, so far as it was then known, were all considered to belong to India. With the latter countries our present inquiries must commence, but it is greatly to be regretted that the subject continues to be involved in an obscurity, which the labours of modern geographers and travellers have not been able to

[1] The *Arabitæ* and *Oritæ* of ARRIAN, vi. 21, etc.
[2] RENNELL'S *Memoir*, etc., p. 19.

disperse. The discovery of a passage by sea to the coasts of India has contributed to withdraw from the above regions the regard of Europeans, and left them in undisturbed obscurity. Even Alexander did not visit them; his road from Bactra to Taxila, or Attock, carrying him further to the south, and it is in vain therefore to look to his historians for information respecting these countries. Two only of the most ancient writers of antiquity were more accurately acquainted with them, Herodotus and Ctesias; of whose guidance we shall avail ourselves.

The former, after having given us some information respecting the Indians south of the Indus, as far as Guzerat, whom I shall have occasion to mention hereafter, adds as follows:[3] "There are other Indians living near the city Caspatyrus and the country of Pactyica, (the city and territory of Cabul,) situated to the north of the rest of the Indian nation, and resembling the Bactrians, their neighbours, in their manner of life. These are the most warlike of all the Indians, and the people who go to procure the gold. For in the neighbourhood of this nation is a sandy desert, in which are ants, less in size than dogs, but larger than foxes, specimens of which are to be seen at the residence of the king of Persia, having been brought from that country. These creatures make themselves habitations under ground, throwing up the sand like the ants in Greece, which they nearly resemble in appearance. The sand, however, consists of gold-dust. To procure this the Indians make incursions into the desert, taking with them three camels, a male one on each side, and a female in the centre, on which the rider sits, taking care to choose one which has recently foaled. When, in this manner, they come to the place where the ants are, the Indians fill their sacks with the sand, and ride back as fast as they can, the ants pursuing them, as the Persians say, by the scent; the female camel, eager to rejoin her young one, surpassing the others in speed and perseverance. It is thus, according to the Persians, that the Indians obtain the greater part of their gold; at the same time that the metal is also found, though in less quantities, in mines."

[3] Herod. iii. 102, 106.

Herodotus has so accurately marked the situation of these auriferous deserts, that it is impossible to be mistaken. The nation in whose neighbourhood they are situated "live near to Bactra and Pactyica, to the north of the other Indians," and consequently among the mountains of Little Thibet, or Little Bucharia; and the desert in their vicinity can be no other than that of Cobi, which is bounded by the mountains of the above countries.

There is no doubt that the account of the historian is applicable to this region. We have already remarked that the lofty chain of mountains which limit the desert is rich in veins of gold;[4] and not only the rivers which flow from it westward, through Great Bucharia, but the desert-streams which run to the east and lose themselves in the sand, or in inland seas, all carry down a quantity of gold-sand. Besides, who knows not that the adjacent country of Thibet abounds in gold? Nor can we be surprised if, at the present day, the rivers in question should be less abundant than formerly in that metal, as must always be the case when it is not obtained by the process of mining, but washed down by a stream. As late, however, as the last century, gold-sand was imported from this country by the caravans travelling to Siberia; and under Peter the Great this gave occasion to abortive attempts to discover those supposed El Dorados, which were not without some beneficial results for the science of geography, though utterly unprofitable for the purposes of finance.[5]

Even the story of Herodotus about the ants, will not appear out of character to any one well acquainted with the East. Possibly there may have been some historical foundation for this fable, which may have taken its rise in the existence of some species of animal, which, like the Hamster-rat, burrows in the earth:[6] possibly the whole may be

[4] See above, pp. 27—35.

[5] See an excellent and learned statement of these attempts in MÜLLER'S *Samml. Russ. Gesch.* iv. p. 183, etc.; and compare BRUCE, *Memoir*, etc. p. 176, etc.

[6] That these were not ants, but a larger species of animal, having a skin, is apparent not only from the account of Herodotus, but from that of Megasthenes in ARRIAN, *Indic. Op.* p. 179, who saw their skins, which he describes as being larger than those of foxes. The COUNT VON VELTHEIM, in his *Sammlung einiger Aufsätze*, vol. ii. p. 268, etc., has started the ingenious idea that the skins of the foxes, (*Canis Corsak*, Linn.,) found in great abundance

pure fiction. Considering our limited acquaintance with the natural history of this region, who shall be hardy enough to decide between the above suppositions? It may be added that Herodotus does not conceal his authorities, but repeatedly says that he had his information from "the Persians;" and by asserting that the animal in question was to be seen at the residence of the Persian monarch, he affords an additional reason for adopting the former hypothesis.

Supposing, however, that this was not the case, it must be remembered that we are now come to the fable-land of the East; the country of all the fabulous animals which we have had occasion to consider. A caravan legend, such as are told of almost every desert, and have in much more recent times been recorded of the very desert in question,[7] cannot (in the regions we are contemplating) be regarded as extraordinary.

The accounts of India preserved by Ctesias, refer in like manner principally to this mountainous region towards the north, as far as Thibet, or in other words, to the land of Indian fable, comprehending the above. This is the point of view in which we ought to regard his relations, if we would appreciate them truly. Thus considered, they contain data of importance to the naturalist and historian, particularly the historian of ancient commerce; and it cannot be doubted that much of what now appears full of obscurity and exaggeration, will eventually be cleared up when a Humboldt or a Pallas shall have visited these regions.[8] I

in this country, were employed in the washing of gold, and which, as they burrow in the earth, may have given rise to the fable. Bold as this conjecture may appear, it deserves to be remarked, as it is in perfect agreement with what we know of the natural history of the country. The actual observation of fresh travellers can alone afford us a complete solution.

[7] See the accounts of MARCO POLO, who travelled over it, preserved by Ramusio, ii. 12.

[8] It is a delicate task to strip off the mask of exaggeration, and arrive at the truth below; but sometimes the latter is sufficiently discernible. An instance of this may be found in Wilford's remarks, *Asiatic Res.* ix. 65, sqq., respecting some of (apparently) the most silly stories of the East. One example may suffice: who can fail to recognise in the account of CTESIAS in ÆL. *Hist. Anim.* iv. 41, respecting the artificial means of procuring sleep, presented to the Persian king from India, the earliest notice of the qualities of opium? Several traditions of this kind have been preserved, according to WILFORD, in the Puranas, and consequently must be ascribed to an Indian source. For the Indo-Persic names recorded by CTESIAS, consult the *Remarks* of TYCHSEN, Appendix to vol. ii.

shall find another opportunity for recurring to the notices Ctesias has given us of the productions of this country, and shall at present confine myself to some remarks on its geography and the way of life of its inhabitants.

That Ctesias is speaking of the countries in question is apparent from the geographical notices which he has added. The Indians he refers to are neighbours of the Bactrians;[9] they all are inhabitants of elevated mountainous tracts;[10] either in the immediate neighbourhood of the sources of the Indus,[11] or above them.[12] There can, therefore, be no question that he refers to Great and Little Thibet, and the region of Himmalaya. I would not, however, by any means be understood to affirm that he refers exclusively to them, or that all his expressions point to the inhabitants of these countries alone; we merely possess some scanty fragments of his Indian history, compiled by the patriarch Photius, without method or arrangement. It is possible, therefore, that some of these ill-assorted remnants may relate to southern Hindustan, at the same time that the generality refer to the countries above indicated.

These were inhabited by various nations, differing in aspect and speech; some of them whites, or nearly approaching the colour of whites, of whom Ctesias himself saw some at the Persian court, five men and two females;[13] others again are of a more dusky complexion, according to the account of a modern traveller.[14]

With respect to the figure, also, of these Indians, we find in Ctesias a multitude of marvellous stories, as, for instance, respecting pigmies with dogs' heads, tails, etc.; no doubt these are mere legends, but it is to be remarked that they are genuine Indian legends, and recur two thousand years after, in the narrative of Marco Polo, who visited these countries.[15]

[9] CTESIAS, in ÆL. *Hist. Anim.* iv. 27.
[10] CTESIAS, *Ind.* cap. 12, 20.
[11] Ibid. cap. 21.
[12] Ibid. cap. 24.
[13] Ibid. cap. 9.
[14] FORSTER, *Travels*, etc. p. 227.
[15] Compare CTESIAS, *Ind.* cap. 11, 22, etc., and MARCO POLO in Ramus. vol. ii. p. 52, 53. Marco Polo tells us that the Indians send monsters of the kind referred to, stuffed, into foreign countries, to give countenance to the stories respecting them. Supposing that this fraud was practised at a more ancient period, the monstrous figures which the Greek authors assert they beheld in the collection of the Persian kings, are readily accounted for. Respecting the dogs' heads, see WILFORD, loc. cit.

The Indians of Ctesias were occupied exclusively with the feeding of cattle, particularly of sheep; their sheep and goats being larger than those of Europe: of the former a species exists among them with large tails, common to all the East.[16] With these countless flocks of sheep the whole western side of Paropamisus, over which Alexander marched, was covered; and in this neighbourhood was found the silphium, so often mentioned in the writings of the ancients, and which caused the sheep that fed on it to attain such an extraordinary growth.[17] Respecting this plant we are indebted to recent travellers for much information.[18] When we reflect that the finest wool comes, in the present day, from Thibet and the mountains bordering on Cashmir, we perceive that these accounts possess a twofold degree of interest and importance.

The value of this wool was enhanced by the colours with which it was dyed. Several natural dyes, particularly the cochineal, were indigenous in the country; and robes of such extreme beauty and splendour were exported from it, that they were worn by the kings of Persia themselves.[19]

In these countries are some considerable lakes, on the surface of one of which floats a species of oil, which being skimmed off is used with victuals.[20]

Next to the feeding of sheep, these nations were dependent on hunting for their subsistence, in which they employed not dogs, but falcons, vultures, and eagles; a custom which has since extended over a great part of Asia.[21]

Notwithstanding the marvellous and monstrous account which Ctesias has given us of the figures of these Indians, it is to be observed that they are not described as savages, but as the most upright, that is, the most civilized, of mankind.[22] They pursued commerce, partly for the purpose of disposing of their robes and the produce of their flocks; partly to exchange their amber for bread, meal, and gar-

[16] CTESIAS, *Ind.* cap. 13, 22, 24.

[17] ARRIAN, iii. 28. See above, p. 159.

[18] Besides the notices respecting the assafœtida, contained in POTTINGER, (see above, p. 159,) compare by all means those of ELPHINSTONE, (*Account of Cabul*, p. 302,) where is found an accurate description of the plant, and a statement of its importance as an article of Indian commerce.

[19] CTESIAS, *Ind.* cap. 21; cf. ÆL. *Hist. Anim.* iv. 46.

[20] CTESIAS, *Ind.* cap. 11.

[21] Ibid. cap. 22; cf. ÆL. loc. cit. iv. 26.

[22] CTESIAS, *Ind.* cap. 8.

ments made from the rind of trees. The amber is described as a resinous subtance, which they collected from the trees on which the insect from which cochineal is prepared is found.[23]. They also obtained by exchange the swords they used in the chase, as well as bows and arrows. They were admirably skilled in the use of the bow, and their lofty and inaccessible mountains secured them from the attempts of any conqueror.[24]

Interesting and instructive as these early records are, it must still be a matter of surprise that, notwithstanding the accurate information the ancients appear to have possessed respecting this part of India, we do not meet with any distinct mention of the vale of Cashmir, so celebrated throughout all the East. All that we can do is to detect some doubtful notices of it in the remains of Ctesias, for neither Alexander nor any of his followers visited this spot, and Herodotus appears not to have even heard of it. It is possible that what Ctesias relates of Indians of a complexion nearly white, may apply to the inhabitants of the vale of Cashmir, as well as the fabulous account of horses of the size of sheep:[25] these animals being used in that country, as well as goats, for the purpose of bearing burdens; and the same may be the case with regard to the lake in which oil is found to float, the only lakes which occur in these parts lying within that valley. But what is still more in point, is the circumstance of the beautiful robes imported from these parts, of such splendid colours and brilliancy that they were worn even by the kings of Persia. To what can this account be so aptly referred as those precious shawls of Cashmir, the most highly prized decoration not only of the ladies of the West, but much more so of the other sex in the East? The remote antiquity, also, claimed for their race by the people of Cashmir, appears to be confirmed by this account.[26]

[23] I am not sure that it is the same with the cochineal of the West Indies; cf. WILFORD, *Asiatic Res.* loc. cit.

[24] CTESIAS, loc. cit. 22. For the cochineal and the other articles of trade alluded to, see the chapter on the Commerce of the Babylonians.

[25] CTESIAS, *Ind.* cap. 11. For the fair complexion of the people of Cashmir, see TIEFENTHALER, i. p. 28; and BERNIER, ii. p. 282.

[26] According to the *Ayin Acbari*, they trace their line of kings for a period of four thousand years.

The Persian dominion, however, did not extend so far, and the position of the Happy Valley, as this fairy land is denominated throughout the East, sheltered, for centuries, its peaceful inhabitants from the revolutions which devastated the rest of Asia.[27] It is environed on all sides by a chain of inaccessible mountains, covered with perpetual snow; and can be approached only by two defiles on the banks of the Behud, which flows through it. The soil of the valley appears to have been deposited by this stream, which at some distant period was arrested here, and converted the whole valley into a lake, till it found at last an exit towards the south, in which direction its waters descend to join those of the Indus. The mud thus deposited, like that of the Nile, has become a soil which abundantly recompenses the labours of the husbandman. The height of the surrounding mountains defends the vale of Cashmir from the periodical rains which deluge the rest of India; and their lofty peaks are only surmounted by the lighter and more feathery clouds, which float in the upper regions of the atmosphere, and when thus arrested, descend in gentle showers, forming innumerable cascades, which precipitate themselves on all sides from the lofty and romantic walls of rock which encompass the valley, and contribute to swell the stream by which it is divided. Protected by its peculiar position, this fortunate valley neither suffers from the heat which prevails in the flats of Hindustan, nor feels the cold of the surrounding mountains. Its fertile soil produces all the fruits known in temperate climes, and enjoys a perpetual spring, of which the nations of the north know nothing, except in the dreams of poets.

Although not unknown to the Persians, Cashmir was not subject to their dominion; but it lay at no great distance from the limits of the latter. It is certain that the Indians, who paid their tribute of gold-dust, were near neighbours of Cashmir, and the greatness of this tribute (three hundred and sixty talents) enables us to comprehend what is told us by Herodotus and Ctesias, of the numerous caravans of In-

[27] For the following account we are indebted to BERNIER, vol. ii. p. 292, (the first author who gave an accurate description of this valley,) and to FORSTER, *Travels*, p. 225, etc., as well as RENNELL, *Memoir*, etc., p. 142, third edit.

dians who penetrated with their camels into the desert,[28] at that time probably more abundant in gold-sand than at present. What we have already advanced, together with what we shall hereafter have occasion to remark, may suffice to prove that these regions are no less interesting to the historian of commerce than to the philosophical observer of the progress of civilization.

A considerable portion of these northern regions of India were unquestionably subject to the dominion of Persia, and as early as the time of Herodotus, we find the north of India described as a separate satrapy;[29] though in after times this province was more usually denominated from the range of Paropamisus, the boundary mountains of India, which continued to be distinguished by the same name in the days of Alexander.[30] We must not, however, expect an accurate line of demarcation, as the authority of the Persian king, indifferently respected in all the mountainous parts of his nominal empire, could not have possessed much weight in this remote corner of it.

The countries to the west of the Indus also, and stretching downwards from the modern territories of Cabul and Kandahar, as far as the mouth of that river, and formerly thought to belong to India, are no less deserving our attention. They became first known in the time of Darius Hystaspis, who, meditating an expedition against these parts, first caused them to be explored by a Grecian named Scylax, who was instructed to descend the stream of the Indus.[31] They were afterwards subjected by the enterprise of Darius, and either formed into a separate satrapy, or attached to that of Northern India or Paropamisus.[32] The want of historical records leaves the further relations of Persia with these regions in obscurity; we must observe, however, that it is inherent in the nature of extensive empires, that their

[28] CTESIAS, in ÆLIAN, *Hist. Anim.* iv. 26, speaks of them as consisting of several thousands. For a further investigation of the extension of this commerce, as far as the easternmost parts of Asia, see the chapter on the trade of the Babylonians.

[29] HEROD. iii. 94. [30] ARRIAN, vi. 15, and elsewhere. [31] HEROD. iv. 44.

[32] HEROD. ii. cc. Alexander laid down as the southern limits of the satrapy of Paropamisus, the river Cophenes, which empties itself into the Indus, below Attock. ARRIAN, iv. 22. These may probably have been the boundaries under the Persians; though this is a point which cannot be asserted with confidence.

extreme provinces should become more or less independent, and the constant direction of the arms of Persia to the west, in consequence of continual wars with the Greeks, the Egyptians, and the Scythians, can scarcely fail to have withdrawn the attention of that power from its eastern boundaries.

A light begins to dawn on the subject only at the downfal of the empire, when Alexander pushed his victories in this direction.[33] The northern half, as far as the Guræus,

[33] Notwithstanding the assistance which may be derived from the important work and excellent maps of ELPHINSTONE, several difficulties remain when we come to compare the geography of these countries in detail with the account of Arrian, whose notices of the positions of ancient cities are not sufficiently precise and definite. The keys of the whole geographical system of these parts are the rivers, which flowing from the west, empty themselves into the Indus. Of these the principal is the Cabul, which (as laid down in Elphinstone's map) flows from west to east, and falls into the Indus in lat. 34° 10′. It receives in its way the Punsheer, the Togow, and the still more considerable Kameh. The streams which flow into the Indus, south of the Cabul, are of no importance. On comparing the account of ARRIAN, book iv., with the map of Elphinstone, the following conclusions appear to me to be established. In ten days' march, Alexander advanced from Bactra to Alexandria, under Paropamisus, across the Indian Caucasus (Koh). MANNERT, vol. v. p. 23, has already shown that Alexandria cannot be the modern Kandahar, which is at about double the distance. It is certain, however, that the Alexandria in question lay on the southern side of the mountain range; and, according to DIODORUS, lib. xvii., on the great commercial highway from Media; consequently I should expect to find it in the modern Cabul or its vicinity, situated at a distance of about two hundred miles from Bactra, and therefore consider it to be the Caspatyrus of Herodotus, Alexandria being obviously only a more recent appellation, by no means necessarily betokening a city of recent erection. Alexander next marched as far as, but not across, the Cophenes, and there summoned the princes whose dominions lay south of this river, and among them Taxilas. The Cophenes I consider to be the Cabul. A part of his army he despatched under Hephæstion, across this stream, through the territory of Taxilas, with directions to march to the Indus, and prepare a passage at Taxila (Attock). At the same time he appointed a satrap of Alexandria, and annexed to his government all the country from Paropamisus to the Cophenes, while he pursued his own march eastward to the mountains, for the purpose of subduing the tribes and cities there. In this march he first fell in with the river Choes, which appears to be the Punsheer of Elphinstone, passing through a wild country; and having crossed this river, reached the Euaspla, (Togow,) and then advanced to the great river Guræus, which was not passed without difficulty, and which appears to be the modern Kameh. Passing this and the Cabul at their point of confluence, he reached the principal city, Massaga, in the territory of the modern Paishawur, (where Elphinstone found the court,) and thence marched by Peucela, (Pakholy,) to the Indus; on arriving at which, he found that the necessary preparations for passing the river had been made by Hephæstion at Taxila. When the materials are so scanty, it must necessarily be the case that opinions should differ; I have merely stated what appears to me the most probable conclusion, after comparing the narrative of the historian with the charts of Elphinstone, which are the best we possess.

(Kameh,) and from the latter stream to the Cophenes, (Cabul,) was at that time very populous, inhabited by various Indian tribes, which lived under the sway of their native rajahs, either altogether independent of the Persians, or allied to them only for purposes of natural defence and protection. Herodotus himself mentions the province of Pactyica, and the city of Caspatyrus,[34] where Scylax commenced his navigation of the Indus,[35] and which I consider to be the same with Cabul. Of these tribes the Astaceni and the Assaceni were the most powerful.[36] "They were not, however, as tall in their persons, nor as courageous in their disposition, nor as dark-complexioned, as those on the further side of the Indus. Anciently they were subject to the Assyrians, (Medes?) but when the Medes became subject to the Persians, they also paid tribute to Cyrus."[37] These nations possessed several strong cities, for instance, the capital of the Assaceni, Massaca, a very populous place; and another great city, near the Indus, named Peucela (Pakholy). In the territory of the other nation lay Bazira (Bijore); Arigæus (Irjab); and the fortified rock of Aornus. In this same region dwelt also another tribe of a different race, the

The course of the rivers of this country is not exactly the same in RENNELL, (see *Memoir to a Map of Hindustan*, etc. p. 65, sqq.,) who makes the Guræus fall at once into the Indus at Attock. This necessarily occasions certain minor discrepancies, which, however, are of no consequence, except as relates to the details of Alexander's progress. Rennell also places Alexandria under Paropamisus in the district of Cabul; Morier alone removes it further to the west, near Bamian.

[34] HEROD. iv. 44.

[35] It is indeed said that Caspatyrus lay on the Indus, but the streams which empty themselves into the Indus on the north, and, in fact, compose that river, may easily have been confounded with it. The opinion of Herodotus also, (founded on the accounts of Scylax,) that the Indus flowed from east to west, (HEROD. iv. 44,) may be thought to confirm this interpretation, which supposes that Herodotus took the Guræus for the Indus, and that Caspatyrus was situated on the former river. Even the name of Pactyica, in which territory the city of Caspatyrus lay, appears to be preserved in that of Pokua, near Cabul; consequently I am not disposed (with Rennell) to find Pactyica in Pakholy (the Peuceliotis of the Greeks); nor, as Gatterer does, in Badakshan; though I would not deny that the limits of the ancient Pactyica, like those of the modern Cabul, may very well have extended northwards as far as Badakshan, and southwards as far as Pakholy. We have not the means of determining these questions with perfect accuracy; but it is sufficient that we have obtained information which may secure us from any considerable error.

[36] ARRIAN, iv. 25, etc., from whom the following facts are taken. Cf. RENNELL, *Memoir to a Map of Hindustan*, p. 171, etc., and the map to p. 201.

[37] ARRIAN, *Ind. Op.* p. 169.

Nisæi, of whom we shall have occasion to speak hereafter: these were not subject to a rajah, but lived under a free government. It is to be remarked, that all these nations, besides tilling their land, occupied themselves with the feeding of cattle, of which Alexander carried away two hundred thousand head of oxen, of so excellent a breed, that he caused a number of them to be sent into Macedonia to improve the cattle of that country.[38]

I abstain from burdening the memory of my reader with the names of several smaller tribes of Indians, the Aspians, Thuræans, Guræans, and others in these parts. They appear all to have possessed the same character, and to have marked the approach to India; their manners and customs, no less than the difference of their complexion, distinguishing them from the natives of Western Asia. Their armies are composed principally of infantry; differing in this respect from the armed hordes of the nomad tribes; and we even discover among them the use of elephants for purposes of state and war, though in less numbers than in Southern India;[39] the rajahs of this region being little distinguished for power or opulence compared with their mightier brethren of the interior.

The districts in question form at the present day the chief part of the territory of the Afghans, or Eastern Persia, called also the kingdom of Cabul, from the name of the principal city, and which the mission of Elphinstone has rescued from obscurity. A comparison of his account with that of Arrian, proves the accuracy of the latter; some particulars excepted, which may be considered undetermined; and the nation at large (making allowances for the influence of Mohammedanism) appears to be in pretty nearly the same stage of civilization as at the time of Alexander's conquest. Some of them occupy fixed abodes in cities and villages, others lead a pastoral life under the shade of tents; but even in the case of the former their wealth principally consists in their cattle: their constitution nearly resembling that of the clans of Scotland. The whole race is divided into different

[38] ARRIAN, iv. 25.

[39] ARRIAN tells us, (iv. 30,) that Alexander himself caused elephants to be taken by men that used to hunt them, and to be tamed for military service: a practice which was continued afterwards.

clans or tribes, and though professing a general allegiance to a common prince, they pay a much more implicit obedience to their several chieftains, though the influence of the latter is always greater or less in proportion to the weight of their personal character. The British traveller found them a people of simple manners, whose pastoral habits presented a pleasing picture; while at the same time they were courageous and independent: such also they were found to be by Alexander; and we cannot peruse without indignation the recital of their severe treatment at his hands, for having attempted to defend their cities and possessions.[40]

The cultivation and the dense population which mark the northern side of the Cophenes disappeared on its southern bank. Towards the mouths of the Indus the land degenerated to a sandy desert, inhabited by the Arabitæ, who are expressly declared to be an Indian race.[41] To the west of these were the Oritæ, descended from the Gedrosians, or wild Ballooches or Balloges. The names of both nations have been preserved in their modern appellations. The Arabitæ were so called from the river Arabius, or Al-Mend, at the mouth of which is still found a city named Araba, near Dioul, close to Porto dos Ilheos,[42] the same river dividing them from the Oritæ, whose name is still preserved in the city of Haur, on the western side of the Mend. They were an independent race, who preserved their freedom by sacrificing, at the approach of Alexander's army, all their possessions, and retiring into the desert, where the Macedonian victor could not follow them.[43]

Let me be permitted now to carry my reader from these boundary nations across the river, which gives name to the country, into the interior, and to speculate on its condition during the existence of the Persian monarchy, and at its downfal, when Alexander, by his Indian expedition, opened for Europeans the road to the extreme East.

[40] TYCHSEN, *Comment. Soc. Gött.* vol. xxi., has disproved the absurd hypothesis which would trace the descent of the Afghans from the Armenians or from the Jews. They are unquestionably an original stock.

[41] ARRIAN, *Indic. Op.* p. 184.

[42] BARROS, *Decadas da Asia*, Dec. iv. p. 290. The maps of Pottinger and Kinneir confirm this.

[43] ARRIAN, vi. 21.

Previously to this event, however, Herodotus had described a part of Hindustan, properly so called, and his account (imperfect as it is) demands our regard.

He tells us[44] that, "The Indians are the most easterly of all the nations of Asia of which we have any certain knowledge: the country to the east of these being a sandy desert. There are, however, various nations of Indians, speaking different languages. Some of them lead a nomad life; others not. Others, again, live amid the marshes of the river, (the Indus,) and live on fish, which they eat raw, and take by means of canoes made of canes: a single joint of the cane in question being sufficient to form a canoe.[45] These Indians wear dresses made of river plants, which they cut and beat, and having woven matwise, put on like a corslet."

The remark that the Indians consist of a variety of different tribes must at once prepossess us in favour of his account, when we reflect on the multitude of errors which have resulted from a contrary opinion. In the next place, he draws a distinction between the nomad Indians and those who occupy fixed abodes; and adds to these a third class, who subsisted by fishing, and whose situation he points out; telling us that they inhabited the marshes of the Indus. We must suppose them, therefore, to have been placed near the mouths of that river, and near to the Arabitæ, with whom they are perhaps to be identified. The soil in these parts is altogether alluvial, and consequently must at a former period have been a marsh. At present, the insupportable heat and continual drought which prevail there render this district so unhealthy that Europeans abstain from visiting it at all, or continue there only for the shortest possible time; which accounts for the little knowledge we possess respecting it.[46] The investigations, however, of some recent English travellers have tended to disperse the ob-

[44] Herod. iii. 98.

[45] The cane of which Herodotus speaks, I consider to be the Bamboo, which abounds in these parts. Thevenot, ii. p. 158. Other authors as well as Herodotus have greatly exaggerated its thickness. Ctesias (*Ind.* cap. 6) gives some other marks which perhaps might assist a botanist in identifying the plant: "The Indian canes are of different degrees of thickness: the thickest being so large that two men cannot encompass it, and as high as an ordinary mast. The plants are male and female, the male, which is very strong, having no pith, which the female has.

[46] Till lately the best account we possessed was that of Rennell (*Memoir*,

scurity which hung over it, and the statements of Pottinger, who accompanied Ellis in his mission to the Ilmeers, the modern masters of Sinde, confirms the accuracy of Arrian's account. Under the name of Sinde is comprehended not only the Delta of the Indus, but all the country above, as far as the influx of the Acesines or Chunaub; a territory which may be compared with the valley of the Nile: the climate, the character of the soil, the inundations of the Indus, and the irrigation of the soil, justifying the comparison. The mouths of the river at all events appear to have been subject to as many changes as those of the Nile, and consequently we must not expect to find every spot tally exactly with the descriptions of ancient writers. If, however, we suppose with Pottinger, that the territory of Musicanus, with whom Alexander waged war, was Chanduki above the Delta, and that Kurachi, the principal harbour near the mouth of the Indus, is the Crocala of Arrian, we shall look for the ancient capital of Pattala, not in the site of the modern Tatta, but at the very commencement or apex of the Delta, in the territory of the modern Hydrabad.[47]

Herodotus[48] continues to tell us, that "other Indians, situated to the east of the former, are nomad tribes, living on raw flesh, and called Padæans. They are said to observe the following customs. When any is sick among them, whether man or woman, if a man, the men who are his principal associates put him to death, alleging that by allowing him to linger on his flesh would be spoiled. He denies with all his might that he is sick, but the others, not listening to him, kill him, and make a feast of him. In like manner, if a woman be sick, the women that are her principal associates do the like by her. Those who happen to attain to old age are all killed and eaten, but this is the case with few; as the generality fall beforehand into some disease, which causes them to be put to death. Again, there are other Indians who live as follows: They neither kill any

etc. p. 180) and VINCENT, Periplus of Nearchus, etc. Since their time we possess the accurate description of POTTINGER, (*Travels*, 342—382,) accompanied by an excellent map of the mouths of the Indus.

[47] ARRIAN expressly tells us (vi. 17) that Pattala was situated at the apex of the Delta. I must leave it to geographers to examine this point more particularly, and determine its details.

[48] HEROD. iii. 99—101.

thing having life, nor sow seed, nor possess houses, but live on a kind of grain nearly as large as millet, enclosed in a husk, and springing up spontaneously, which they cook and eat in the husk. If any one among these fall into a malady, he retires into the desert and is there laid up; nor does any one show the least concern about him during his sickness, or at his death."[49] Herodotus also tells us that these people live to the south of the Persian empire, and pay not the smallest respect to the authority of the monarch of that country, which sufficiently defines their general position. They are evidently Southern Indians, living on the further side of the Indus, which was the boundary of the dominion of Darius. Consequently we cannot apply the description to any other countries but those which flank the Indus to the east near the sea; the province, namely, of Sinde, already mentioned, or the country between Multan and Guzerat; and notwithstanding the imperfect state of our information respecting these territories, we possess sufficient to enable us to illustrate the traditional accounts followed by the father of history.

Herodotus has marked the situation of the first of these tribes, the Padæi, by adding, "that they live to the east of the Indians who subsist by fishing." If the latter lived near the mouth of the Indus, it follows that the former must be sought to the east of them, and consequently above the district of Guzerat. Their situation again leads to a very probable conjecture respecting the origin of their name, which appears to have been derived from the river Paddar, on the banks of which they fed their flocks. In their immediate neighbourhood are extensive deserts of sand, extending to Multan, at all times haunted by lawless Indian tribes, with whom a large part of the peninsula is filled, almost in a state of savage nature.[50] In two other places Herodotus calls them Calantiæ, or Calatiæ:[51] a name which seems to have been immediately derived from their Indian appellation of Callar, Coolier, or Cooleries.[52]

[49] Presently after follows the author's account of the Northern Indians already referred to.

[50] SPRENGEL, *Geschichte der Maratten*, p. 17—30.

[51] HEROD. iii. 38, 97, from whose account it is clear that this was a general appellation for the Indians of these parts.

[52] BARROS, *Decadas da Asia*, p. 298; cf. SPRENGEL, *Gesch. der Maratten.*

Their disposition to robbery has at all times made them formidable to the merchants of Guzerat, and the imputation attached to them by Herodotus, of eating human flesh, has at all times adhered to their race, as even Thevenot assures us that a little before the time of his visit food of this description was exposed for sale in the bazaar of Debca.[53] In another place Herodotus tells us that their custom is to eat their parents;[54] and, without vouching for the truth of these accounts, it is clear that the tradition is of genuine Indian growth, being repeated almost word for word nearly two thousand years after the time of Herodotus, by Marco Polo,[55] the earliest Indian traveller to whom the nations of modern Europe are indebted for more accurate information respecting these countries, as the ancients were to Herodotus.

Nor can we fail to recognise the race of Indians who live on a vegetable diet, and abstain from all things having life. The distaste for animal food is indeed extremely general among the Hindus, but it may also be traced among their neighbours whom we at present know under the name of Mahrattas,[56] whose ancestors (as I shall have occasion to show) have always occupied the same districts. Even the species of grain on which he tells us they subsist cannot remain a question, notwithstanding he has afforded us no complete description of it; rice, as we all know, being the principal diet of these tribes, and (so to speak) indigenous in their country. What he adds respecting the wild and savage character of these tribes is strictly conformable with what we know of their warlike and cruel habits, as well as his remark respecting their complexion, which, especially in the southern parts of Hindustan, becomes almost black.[57]

These preliminary remarks enable us to reduce the information afforded by Herodotus to certain general heads.

I. The India of Herodotus embraces also, in part, the countries to the north, known likewise to Ctesias, namely, Little Thibet and Cabul, as well as the southern districts

[53] THEVENOT, ii. p. 18. The same is confirmed by the most recent accounts. ELPHINSTONE tells us (p. 28) that the tribe of the Vizores, living here, are savages and cannibals.

[54] HEROD. iii. 38. [55] MARCO POLO in RAMUS. ii. p. 53.

[56] SPRENGEL, *Gesch. der Maratten.* passim.

[57] POTTINGER, *Travels*, p. 378.

near the mouths of the Indus, and, beyond that river, as far as the Paddar and the confines of Guzerat. Of these countries he had learned all that a stranger was sure to hear first, (as may be seen by comparing the narrative of Marco Polo,) namely, the wonderful and the marvellous. Nevertheless, there is in the most part a fund of truth at the bottom of all his statements, and the historian errs only in cases where it was impossible for him to attain exact information.

II. The assertion of Herodotus that India terminated in the east in a sandy desert, admits of an easy and satisfactory explanation. This notion must appear at first sight the more erroneous, from the fact that, even in the time of the Persians, it is certain, from other authorities, that the great kingdoms of Central Hindustan were not unknown to the rest of the world. Nevertheless, it is certain that both Southern and Northern India, as known to Herodotus, actually terminated in such deserts; the former in the desert of Cobi, the latter in the sandy waste which stretches from Guzerat to Multan, and it was, therefore, very natural that the historian should fall into the error, that the whole of India terminated towards the east in a desert of this description.[58]

These ideas were of course corrected by the daring expedition of Alexander, which threw a new light on the countries into which he penetrated.

The countries explored by that conqueror, are those at present denominated the provinces of Lahore and Multan, comprehended under the general appellation of the Panjab, or the Land of the Five Streams, because, besides the Indus, which bounds it to the west, it is watered by five rivers, which rise in the boundary-mountains to the north, and pursue a south-westerly direction towards the principal current, to which they unite themselves. The ancient names of these rivers, as recorded by the followers of Alexander, appear to be all of Persian origin, and hence we miss the resemblance which we generally find between the local names of ancient and modern Hindustan. The nearest to the Indus is the Hydaspes or Behut, which falls into the second, the Acesines or Chunaub, and both descend into

[58] In Rennell's great map of Hindustan, these deserts are indicated in all their extent.

the third, the Hydraotes or Rauvee. The confluence of these rivers takes place in Lahore, and they traverse in a single current Multan, situated more to the south, and pour their waters into the Indus, near a city of the same name with the province, in lat. 30° 50′. Lastly, the fourth of these minor streams, the Hyphasis or Beyah, as far as which Alexander advanced, and which receives the Setledge, pursues a course nearly parallel with the preceding, forming the eastern boundary of Lahore and Multan, and emptying itself into the Indus, without encountering the others, in lat. 29° 12′.

This fruitful territory was the scene of Alexander's victories,[59] who penetrated as far as the banks of the Hyphasis, but was compelled to stop, just in the middle of his triumphant march from the Indus to the Ganges, (which would otherwise have been the proper termination of his conquests,) by the mutinous dispositions of his troops. He marched homewards by a different direction from that by which he had advanced, pursuing a southerly direction to the mouth of the Indus, through the territory of Multan.[60] Thence he despatched his fleet along the coast to the Persian Gulf, and the mouths of the Euphrates, while he himself led his triumphant forces to Susa and Babylon, directly across the deserts of Gedrosia and Carmania, by a route never attempted by any other regular army of Europeans.

In this manner, at the downfal of the Persian empire, a large portion of ancient Hindustan emerged from obscurity, and we are entitled to consider that the state in which this region was found by Alexander, was the same in which it had subsisted during the empire of the Persians, for it

[59] The march of Alexander has been traced with critical accuracy, by Rennell, in his excellent map illustrative of the countries situated between the sources of the Ganges and the Caspian Sea, as well as in his Memoir appended to the same, p. 200. Elphinstone also, who returned from Cabul through the Panjab, has thrown new light upon the subject, *Account*, p. 501, etc. Notwithstanding the present lamentable condition of the Panjab, it appears by the account of the latter, to be still a fruitful country, though not equal in that respect to Bengal and the district of the Ganges, which have at all times been the richest parts of Hindustan.

[60] It is remarkable how many even of the less considerable details afforded by Arrian, have been confirmed by modern travellers. POTTINGER (*Travels*, p. 9) has remarked the extraordinary noise and turbulence of the waves of the ocean, where they meet the waters of the Indus, which so astonished and alarmed the Macedonian soldiers.

was found by that conqueror in the repose of a profound peace, no traces existing of violent revolutions, nor any thing at the most but slight matters of dispute between the princes of the interior. Consequently, the picture which the followers of Alexander have transmitted to us of the country, is applicable to its former condition, and would on this account deserve our attention, even if it did not contain so many interesting points of detail.

The whole of the Panjab appears at that period to have been densely inhabited, and generally cultivated; filled with a multitude of flourishing states, and various tribes, living under different and independent forms of government. All, however, were equally warlike, and by the testimony of the soldiers of Alexander, the most courageous race of Asia, and their obstinate resistance, and the dread of the still more powerful nations on the Ganges, had no small share in driving the unconquered army of the Macedonian to the mutinous conduct which put an end to his further progress. The complexion of all these nations is described as being swarthy, but not black like that of the Ethiopians: they were not enervated by habits of effeminacy; their stature was tall and slender, and they had a proportionable alertness in their motions.[61]

The Panjab, like the rest of India, consisted of a number of states of different sizes, mutually independent of each other. On the further side of the Indus, as far as the Hydaspes or Behut, reigned the king or rajah of Taxila or Attock, an ally of Alexander, who had purchased the favour of that conqueror, by an offering of two hundred talents, three thousand oxen, ten thousand sheep, and thirty elephants. His kingdom was the most considerable of all between the above-named rivers, and though only accounted one of the petty kings of India, the extent of his present proves the abundance of cattle within his territory, which was bounded on the north by that of another rajah, Abisarus, who also submitted to the conqueror.[62]

A much more powerful monarch ruled on the further side of the Hydaspes, and opposed a stout resistance to the invader. The Grecian historian calls him Porus, which,

[61] ARRIAN, v. 4. [62] ARRIAN, v. 8.

however, may have been only a title; as we find it belonged also to another rajah.[63] This king headed an army of thirty thousand foot, four thousand horse, and two hundred elephants, with three hundred and fifty war-chariots, and ranked among the most powerful monarchs of India. He had at all times been the enemy of Taxilas;[64] a proof that the mutual rivalry of the Indian princes was no less serviceable to the cause of Alexander, than that of their successors to the English. The habits of life and the court establishment of these princes, appear to have been much the same then as at present; the rajah appearing in public on a state elephant, and his power being generally estimated by the number of these animals in his service. The general dress of the great men was then, as now, garments of fine cotton; either wrapped round the shoulders, or enveloping the head. Their beards are dyed of various colours, white, scarlet, or blue, or some dark colour. They are adorned with costly earrings of ivory, and the more wealthy are distinguished by an umbrella, and an umbrella-bearer. A difference of rank is also marked by the fashion of their shoes, which are high and decorated, in proportion to the rank of the wearer.[65]

These, and the like circumstances, demonstrate that the manners, as well as the constitutions of the nations of Hindustan were the same then as at present; but in these same districts we are called upon to remark another fact highly deserving of our attention. When Alexander had crossed the Acesines or Chunaub, and penetrated further into the country, he fell in with other nations not living under the rule of princes, but possessing a republican constitution. These Indian republics, of which Nysa, already mentioned, was one, occurred in the country between the Acesines and Hyphasis, (Chunaub and Beyah,) or in the eastern half of the province of Lahore, as well as in the southern district of Multan, as far as the Indus. Along the banks of the latter, after its junction with the Hyphasis, we again meet with nations living under the authority of rajahs, like those to the north. In the province of Lahore, the Cathæi, the

[63] ARRIAN, v. 9, 21. In the annals of Hindustan he is denominated Pur; if this be not fictitious. DOW, *Hist. of Hindustan*, i. p. 24.

[64] ARRIAN, v. 18.

[65] ARRIAN, *Indic. Op.* p. 179, 180.

Adraistæ, and some others, were of this description; in that of Multan, the Malli and Oxydracæ; and it is said that still more powerful nations, living under the same form of government, were to be found on the other side of the Hyphasis, in the direction of the Ganges.[66]

Republican governments are of much too rare occurrence in Asia, to be passed over unobserved, especially when discovered in such remote regions, and at so great a distance of time. It shall be our endeavour first of all, carefully to collect the scattered notices respecting them preserved in ancient history; and next, to inquire whether any traces of them may still be discovered in modern Hindustan, which may lead to a better understanding of them.

The constitution of all these republics was uniformly aristocratic; all, without exception, being described as under the government of their optimates. They usually were governed by a senate, which in the instance of the city of Nysa, already mentioned, consisted of three hundred members, in whom the supreme authority resided.[67] The numbers of the same body in other cities has not been given, but they appear to have been considerable. The Oxydracæ (inhabiting Outch, below Multan) sent one hundred and fifty of their aristocracy as deputies to Alexander;[68] and the same conqueror demanded as hostages from the Malli, (in Moultan,) the most powerful of the mall, no les sthan a thousand of their principal citizens (κρατίστευοντες).[69] The authorities of these states are denominated either nomarchæ,[70] or autocrats, (αὐτοκράτορες,) or, generally, magistrates (τέλη); nor is it possible accurately to define the differences of their respective ranks; only it is to be observed, that the nomarchæ and autocrats are expressly distinguished from one another.[71]

[66] ARRIAN, v. 22; vi. 6, 14.
[67] Ibid. v. 1, 2.
[68] Ibid. vi. 14.
[69] Ibid. loc. cit.
[70] The Greeks were in the habit of giving the title of nomarchæ to the governors of districts or provinces: consequently they were inferior magistrates, and, as such, opposed to the αὐτοκράτορες, or the supreme magistrates. Diodorus mentions only one of these cities, (named by him Hyala,) which appears in its constitution to have resembled Sparta, possessing two races of hereditary chiefs or kings, whose office it was to command the troops of the nation in war. The supreme authority appears to have resided in their senate. DIODORUS, ii. p. 241.
[71] ARRIAN, loc. cit.

In the next place, all these nations are described as very warlike, and many of them as very populous and powerful; opposing to Alexander an impetuous and courageous resistance, such as he had scarcely encountered any where else. His victories over them were uniformly purchased at a vast price of blood; and the Macedonians had to overcome, not only the usual obstacles of walls and ramparts encircling their cities, but also the resistance of citadels within. Their encampments were often protected by a triple line of military waggons and cars; the numbers of which are as remarkable as were those of the various descriptions of boats and vessels, which the conqueror got together in their country. The size and populousness of their cities may be gathered from the example of Sangola, the capital of the Cathæi; on the capture of which seventeen thousand of its inhabitants perished; seven thousand were made prisoners; as were also five hundred horsemen and three hundred chariots.[72] Many tribes, however, deserted their cities, and withdrew into the deserts which border Multan to the east; preferring exile to subjugation.

In the midst of these warlike tribes we meet with a race of Brachmans, or Bramins, who are expressly distinguished from them by the historian. Mention is made of certain cities exclusively belonging to the Brahmani,[73] at the same time that we also hear of the Brahmans as residing in other places, and as having been the authors of a very formidable insurrection against the conqueror.[74]

Lastly, it is to be observed that all these tribes, according to the Greeks, esteemed their free constitutions as an inheritance which had descended to them from Bacchus or Dionysus. This tradition is first mentioned in the case of Nysa, a city on this side of the Indus, in which instance it appears to have received considerable embellishments from the fancy of the Greeks;[75] but we also find the same story repeated with reference to the republics of the Malli and Oxydracæ, the most powerful of all, and seems to have been common to the rest also.[76]

These few particulars are all that history has preserved for us respecting these states, and these naturally lead, in

[72] ARRIAN, v. 23, 24. [73] Ibid. vi. 7. [74] Ibid. vi. 16.
[75] Ibid. v. 1. [76] Ibid. vi. 14.

the first place, to the question, What, in general, were these Indian tribes? Do any remains of them still subsist? or have they altogether perished in the lapse of centuries?

This question the history of India enables us to answer with certainty. The countries possessed by the nations already described, have in all ages been the abode of the warrior-caste of Hindustan, the Rasboots, or Rajpoots, of whom the renowned Mahrattas, and the Seikhs, are branches. It was natural that the most warlike tribe of a mighty nation should be placed on its most exposed frontier, (as was the case with those of the Egyptians in Lower Egypt,) and it was from this quarter alone that Hindustan was accessible to an enemy. It is also clear from Indian history, that these tribes have never been completely eradicated from their seats, but at the most have been only reduced to the temporary payment of a tribute.[77] Their country is full of narrow valleys and defiles, and even the plains which occur are encompassed by hills, and the approach of a conqueror was moreover impeded by a multitude of strong holds and castles. Even under the Moguls, their subjugation appears to have been merely nominal: their fastnesses, indeed, were occasionally taken, but the spirit of freedom and independence, which does not reside in fortresses, nor is cooped up by walls, was not so to be overcome, and the Rajpoots preferred a retreat into their deserts to subjugation and slavery.[78]

If we adopt the idea that the military castes of Hindustan occupied these districts, we may easily understand how Alexander came to experience a resistance so determined; and the fact is confirmed by their very names. One of the most common appellations of the caste, in addition to that of Rasboots, is Kuttry, or Catry, and is often applied to the whole caste,[79] though it originally appears to have been only the appellation of a particular tribe, situated in the

[77] RENNELL, *Memoir*, etc. p. 230. SPRENGEL, *Geschichte der Maratten*, p. 16. The name of the Mahrattas is of modern origin; and (according to SPRENGEL, p. 40) first occurs about the middle of the last century. Anciently they were denominated Rajpoots.

[78] According to ELPHINSTONE, p. 61, the upper class of the inhabitants of the Panjab still consists of Rajpoots; the inferior, of Jauts. The latter are of low stature, dark complexion, and unsightly: the Rajpoots, on the contrary, are beautifully formed, with aquiline noses.

[79] FORSTER, *Travels*, etc. p. 188. RENNELL, *Memoir*, etc. pp. 123, 130.

eastern part of Multan.[80] Exactly in the same situation we find, as early as the days of Alexander, the republic of the Catheri,[81] which was subdued by the Macedonian prince. Any one who, by comparing modern history with ancient, has been led to remark the unchangeableness of Indian names, will not consider this proof a slight one.

If we consider it as established that the modern Seikhs and Mahrattas are the genuine descendants of the ancient enemies of Alexander, and occupy the same districts, however widely they may have extended their conquests south and north, we may fairly conclude, that in proportion as we become acquainted with the modern races, we advance in information respecting their ancestors. The most recent accounts which we possess respecting these tribes, tend in a striking manner to confirm this expectation.

A love of independence continues to characterize this race, and the republican form of government still subsists, as was found to be the case by the Portuguese, when they first became acquainted with the Rajpoots, and the countries in their possession. The nation was then under a republican government of an aristocratical or oligarchical character.[82]

In like manner, it is certain that the constitution of the Seikhs, for a knowledge of which we are indebted to contemporary writers,[83] is altogether republican. The nation

[80] THEVENOT, ii. 184. This is confirmed by the statement of ELPHINSTONE, p. 15, who travelled through Multan, and visited its principal city, which has still a circumference of four miles. It is, at present, governed by a deputy of the king of Cabul.

[81] DIOD. ii. p. 231. ARRIAN, v. 22. By the latter they are called Cathæi; which reading Wesseling has injudiciously, as it appears to me, adopted into the text of Diodorus.

[82] BARROS, *Asia*, *Decas* iv. p. 545. Estes Rasbutos eraõ da mais nobre gente, que senhoreavaõ aquella terra da Guzerate, e saõ homens grandes, e naõ tem a religiaõ de Baneanas, (the merchant-caste,) armados, e em bons cavallos descem das montanhas. *Governaõ-se os Rasbutos em Republica*, per os mais velhos, repartidos em Senhorias.

[83] See FORSTER'S *Travels*, p. 211, sqq. The Seikhs appear, however, not to have been, in their first origin, a distinct race, so much as a religious sect, which formed itself among the Hindus in the sixteenth century, the founder of which was a prophet named Nanok, A. D. 1539. They continued for a considerable space of time a mere sect, under nine successive spiritual heads, till they were compelled by the external violence to assume the character of a political party. They became victorious over their enemies, the Afghans and Moguls; and, in the last century, extended their dominion over the greater part of the Panjab, and even further towards the Ganges.

consists of a multitude of military republics, compelled, on occasion of aggression from without, to combine for their mutual defence; just as their ancestors the Malli, Oxydracæ, and others, became united on the approach of the Macedonian conqueror, as they had done before on the invasion of the rajahs to the north, who were, it is probable, as little well affected to republics as Alexander himself.[84] "Their constitution," says the British traveller,[85] "has, at first sight, the appearance of being aristocratical, but on a nearer inspection, it appears to deserve rather the name of a democracy. No member of the state enjoys any title or honorary distinction, the chiefs are only military. In common society, an equality of rank prevails, which no class, however rich and powerful, durst venture to abolish. The assemblies of the people are altogether military; each member has a vote, and the majority decide."

Pure as this democracy appears to have been, it is apparent from the very account of the narrative, that these assemblies of the nation at large were convoked only when the Seikhs were menaced by foreign enemies, and have ceased since their wars with the Afghans. On the contrary, it would seem that an aristocracy was the established form of government, modified to a more popular constitution, when the necessity for a general resistance to a powerful oppressor called for such a change.

However this may be, it is clear, (and I shall not press this conclusion further,) that a taste for republican institutions has at all times characterized these Indian nations, of which the Mahrattas, a race allied to the Seikhs, afford still stronger proofs. The latter have indeed their chiefs or rajahs, yet it is no uncommon circumstance for a number of their principal men, especially of the Brahmanical caste, to assume the supreme authority, and reduce their monarchical to an oligarchical or aristocratical form of government.[86] These countries are, indeed, the proper seats of the warrior-castes, but nevertheless contain, like all the rest of Hindustan, a large number of Brahmans, and the warlike spirit of the country has taken and seized this caste, no less than those of the agriculturists and traders.

[84] ARRIAN, v. 22. [85] FORSTER, loc. cit.
[86] SPRENGEL, *Geschichte der Maratten*, pp. 102, 105.

"The character of Northern India is very different from that of the South. In the Panjab the peasant is also a soldier from necessity, and the Brahman himself scruples not to handle the sword; no one goes out of his house unarmed, the merchant as well as the labourer, even when he has to go but a few miles from home, is fully accoutred; and in some districts it is not unusual to see the peasant armed with a spear while engaged in tilling the ground." [87]

Precisely the same phenomena occurred in the time of Alexander, when, as at the present, the Brahmans were not only disseminated over the country, but (as we have had occasion to observe) had cities of their own, which they defended with no less obstinacy than the rest of their countrymen against the Macedonians.[88] It even appears to me highly probable, that the rulers of the states alluded to (as is at present the case among the Mahrattas) were all, or the greater part of them, Brahmans. First, because this hypothesis would tend to explain the extraordinary tradition that these republican governments were an inheritance derived from Dionysus, or Bacchus, since not only the characteristics of the Indian Bacchus, as recorded by the Greeks, but many particulars of his mythological history, appear to prove that his story has been ingrafted on that of Brahma; and we cannot be surprised that the Brahmanical caste, which, besides the privilege of ministering to the worship of their deity, claimed the distinction of being the civilizers of their country, should have assumed the merit also of being their political legislators. Secondly, this conjecture is rendered still more probable by the circumstance, that the Brahmans are expressly mentioned as the authors of the revolts against Alexander,[89] since what cause (no encroachment being made in their national religion) could so readily lead them to such attempts as the desire of regaining their lost authority? If this supposition be well founded, we see another proof of the immutability of Indian constitutions, as well as manners, notwithstanding the number of centuries that have elapsed, and the multitude of political revolutions to which they have been exposed. I reserve for the portion of my work relative to India, the observations which

[87] FORSTER'S *Travels. Preface.* [88] ARRIAN, vi. 7. [89] Ibid. vi. 16.

I have to make on the origin and character of Republicanism there.

With the above nations terminates the degree of light which the expedition of Alexander disseminated over Hindustan. It was reserved for his successor, Seleucus Nicator, to penetrate to the banks of the Ganges, in all ages the genuine abodes of Indian religion and civilization. It was only by hearsay that Alexander could gather any thing respecting the mighty kingdom of the Prasii, the modern Bengal and Oude, and its capital Palibothra, near the modern Patna, which has since been often regarded as the metropolis of all India.[90] The reports they heard of the innumerable elephants and mighty armies of this nation, so terrified the hitherto unconquered Macedonians, that, in opposition to the will of their commander, they commenced their retreat homewards; and although Alexander himself at first treated these rumours as exaggerations, succeeding ages have proved them to be any thing but ill-founded.

[90] ARRIAN, *Ind. Op.* p. 175. Concerning the site of Palibothra, (Patelputher,) see my essay *De Græcorum notitia Indiæ*, in the *Comment. Soc. Goett.* vol. x. p. 139.

PERSIANS.

CHAPTER II.

ON THE CONSTITUTION OF THE PERSIAN EMPIRE.

I. GENERAL AND HISTORICAL ACCOUNT.

Previous to an examination into the state and constitution of the Persian empire in later ages, it is indispensable that we should take a survey of the early history of the race, their origin and connexion with their neighbours,—circumstances which influenced most of their more recent institutions, though modified, indeed, by many accidents of time and circumstances.

The Persians are descended from that widely-disseminated people, who occupied the countries between the Tigris and Indus on one side, and between the Oxus and the Indian Ocean on the other. Their very aspect and complexion distinguish them from the Mongols, their neighbours to the north, as well as from the Hindus to the south, in a manner too decided to admit of our supposing any consanguinity between them; while their language proves them to be equally independent of the Semitic or Arabian tribes to the west; since the fact of a totally different speech prevailing on the western bank of the Tigris from that spoken on the eastern,[1] entitles us to consider the races by whom it was used as equally distinct. In like manner, as we are enabled, not only by the fragments we possess of the language of the race in question, but by the express testimony of antiquity, to assert that its different dialects were essentially off-shoots

[1] See above, p. 45.

of the same stock,[2] we may fairly conclude, that the nations who employed them were the descendants of a single race.[3] This proposition must not be interpreted to mean that all the inhabitants of those regions belonged to this stock. Even previous to the time when the Arabs, with the sword in one hand and the Koran in the other, overran and subdued Persia, they were the more open to settlers from the north and east, from the circumstance that Persia was situated on the great highway of nations by which the human race spread itself from east to west. All that is meant to be asserted is, that the various races who successively had dominion in these parts, all belonged to the same original stock.

The most ancient of these ruling nations are recorded to have been the Medes, Bactrians, and Persians, but we are expressly told that the term Medes was applied not only to the inhabitants of Media Proper, but that the Arii also belonged to the same race.[4] In like manner we are assured by Herodotus that the Arii meant, not only the inhabitants of Arii in the more restricted sense of the term, but rather, all who occupied the extensive regions comprised, according to Strabo, under the term Ariana, and at present termed Iran.[5] To this belonged Bactriana; and the evidence we possess of the ancient civilization and prosperity of this country, would of itself incline us to the belief that the Bactrians belonged to the same race, even if their own traditions, as we shall presently have occasion to see, did not confirm the fact. It is true that Herodotus in his catalogue

[2] I assume as proved by the essays in the Appendix to the *Zendavesta*, ii. 1, that the Zend, Pehlvi, and Parsee, are all dialects of the same language.

[3] STRABO, p. 1054. Ἐπεκτείνεται δὲ τ' οὔνομα τῆς Ἀριανῆς μέχρι μέρους τινὸς καὶ Περσῶν, καὶ Μήδων καὶ ἔτι τῶν προσάρκτιων Βακτρίων, καὶ Σογδιανῶν. Εἰσί γάρ πως καὶ ὁμόγλωττοι παρὰ μικρόν. Arianæ nomen usque ad partem quandam Persarum et Medorum, et septentrionalium Bactrianorum et Sogdianorum extenditur. Sunt enim fere ejusdem linguæ.

This important passage contains not only a specification of the countries comprehended by Strabo under the name of Ariana, (Iran,) i. e. Persia, Media, Bactriana, and Sogdiana (see p. 88); but also his express testimony that the languages of those countries differed only as dialects. The testimony of Strabo is the more valuable from the circumstance that he was himself born not far from Persia; and in his great historical work, which has not come down to us, *The Continuation of Polybius*, containing a particular account of Parthian history, (cf. *Comment.* iv. *de Fontibus Vitarum* PLUTARCHI,) must have been necessarily led to touch on these points. Respecting the eastern provinces, compare ELPHINSTONE, p. 311; who considers the languages spoken there also to be of Persian origin.

[4] HEROD. vii. 62.

[5] STRABO, loc. cit.

speaks of the Bactrians, and several other nations, as being distinct races, but this is the more easily to be accounted for, inasmuch as we not only discover a great similarity in their arms and dress,[6] but Herodotus himself, in other places, speaks of some of them as only offshoots of the same original race.[7]

It is no less clear, from the similarity of their language, as well as from their history, that we must not consider the Persians as being a distinct race from the Medes, but as belonging to the same stock. The case of the mother of Cyrus is a familiar instance of what appears to have been of frequent occurrence among them, the intermarriages even of their sovereigns; and after that these nations had successively reduced one another to a state of dependence, it is difficult to believe that on the subjugation of the Medes, the *amalgamation* (so to express myself) of manners and religion could have been so complete, if they had been of totally different originals. Accordingly, we shall venture to consider as the same parent stock, the race which bore rule in Iran, comprehending all the inferior races, and which may be termed in general the Persian or Medo-Persian;[8] inasmuch as the countries in its occupation were termed, in a wider sense, the land of Persia.

The traditions of this race preserve some very important particulars respecting their descent, their ancient abodes, and their gradual dissemination through the land of Iran. These traditions are preserved in the beginning of the Vendidat, the most important, and, it is probable, the most ancient of all their sacred books, the collection of which is styled the Zendavesta, to which we shall have occasion to refer hereafter. The two first chapters of this work, entitled *Fargards*, contain the above traditions, not wrapped up in allegory, but so evidently historical as to demand nothing more than the application of geographical knowledge to explain them.[9] With the exception of the Mosaical Scriptures, we are acquainted with nothing (the untranslated Vedas perhaps excepted) which so plainly wears the stamp of remote

[6] HEROD. vii. 64. [7] Such as the Mardi, Parætaceni, etc.

[8] They have been denominated by RHODE, (*Heilige Sagen*, etc.,) the people of Zend, not improperly, if we consider the Zend as the original language of all the race.

[9] See the Appendix to the following volume.

antiquity, ascending beyond the times within which the known empires of the East flourished; in which we catch as it were the last faint echo of the history of a former world, anterior to that great catastrophe of our planet, which is attested in the vicinity of the parent country of these legends, by the remains of the elephant, the rhinoceros, and the mammoth, and other animals properly belonging to the countries of the south. It would be a fruitless labour to attempt to assign dates to these remains, but if the compiler of the Vendidat himself, who was long anterior to the Persian, and, as we shall have occasion to show, probably also to the Median dynasty, as known to us, received them as the primeval traditions of his race, our opinion of their importance may be fully justified.

These legends describe as the original seat of the race a delicious country named *Eriene-Veedjo*, which enjoyed a climate singularly mild, having seven months summer, and five of winter. Such was its state at first as created by the power of Ormuzd; but the author of evil, the death-dealing Ahriman, smote it with the plague of cold, so that it came to have ten months of winter and only two of summer. Thus the nation began to desert the Paradise they at first occupied, and Ormuzd successively created for their reception sixteen other places of benediction and abundance, which are faithfully recorded in the legend.

What, then, was the site of the Eriene referred to? The editors and commentators on the Zendavesta are inclined to discover it in Georgia, or the Caucasian district,[10] but the opinion must necessarily appear unsatisfactory to any one who will take into account the whole of the record, and the succession of places there mentioned as the abodes of the race. On the contrary, we there trace a gradual migration of the nation from east to west; not, as this hypothesis would tend to prove, from west to east. The first abode which Ormuzd created for the exiled people was Soghdi, whose identity with Sogdiana is sufficiently apparent; next Môore, or Maroo, in Khorasan; then Bakhdi, or Balkh (Bactriana); and so on to Fars itself, and the boundaries of Media and India. The original country of Eriene must,

[10] I am unconscious on what grounds RHODE (p. 63) has ascribed to me this opinion, which in fact I have never entertained.

therefore, lie to the east of Sogd, and thus we are led by the course of tradition to those regions which we have already referred to, as the scene of the traditions and fables of the nation, viz. the mountainous tracts on the borders of Bucharia, the chain of Mus-tag and Beloor-Land, as far as the Paropamisan range on the confines of Hindustan, and extending northwards to the neighbourhood of the Altaic chain. This savage and ungenial region enjoys at present only a short summer, at the same time that it contains the reliques of an ancient world, which confirm, by positive proof, the legend of the Vendidat, that anciently the climate was of a totally different character. When the altered nature of their original seats compelled the race to quit them, Ormuzd prepared for them other places of repose and abundance, within the precincts of that territory, which has preserved, to the present day, the appellation of Iran; the nation carrying with them the name of Eriene, which is obviously the same with Iran. How does it come to pass, however, that instead of a single spot, sixteen are named as the abodes of blessing and abundance?

The answer is contained, if I mistake not, in the observations of the preceding part. Iran, or Persia, in the more extensive sense of the word, is by no means generally fertile; its fertility depending, as we have seen, altogether on its irrigation, which is very partial. Though some fruitful situations are scattered over its surface, it contains immense deserts incapable of cultivation, and this is the account conveyed to us by the legend. The abodes which Ormuzd created for his people, are described as single and separate: the intervening or surrounding country being passed over without notice. I leave it to the commentators on the Zendavesta to identify all the sixteen places there recorded; and the more willingly, as I would abstain from any thing like mere conjecture. Even if a few names should remain unexplained, it is apparent that this chain of successive abodes followed the course of the great highway of nations which afterwards became that of commerce, and led from Sogdiana across the Oxus to the west, into Media and Persia, and southward by Herat, Cabul, and Kandahar, to Arachotus, and the confines of India. To identify all the places mentioned in our authority, would demand a more accurate

knowledge than we possess of the language of Zend, the ancient speech of the original race; but our present acquaintance with the subject fully warrants the above conclusions.

When this people quitted their original abodes, it appears from their records that they were a race of herdsmen and shepherds, acquainted with no other species of property than their herds of camels, horses, oxen, and sheep. A change of residence was, however, necessarily accompanied by a change of habits. The earliest of their kings or chiefs, Jemshid, is celebrated in the legend as the first who, at the command of Ormuzd, introduced into the countries he visited, or the land of Iran, a knowledge of agriculture, tillage, and cattle-breeding. He was also the legislator of his race, having been appointed to that office by Ormuzd.

When Jemshid and his people occupied Iran, it was, according to the legend, uninhabited by any but wild animals. The nature of the country, however, did not admit of all the new settlers devoting themselves to the same occupations. A comparatively small number gave themselves to agriculture, and occupied settled habitations; by far the greater part of the nation continuing of necessity to pursue their old pursuits as shepherds and herdsmen. In this manner, by the variety of their occupations, rather than the diversity of their origin, was the nation necessarily split into a multitude of distinct tribes, of which some, like the Medes and Bactrians, acquired by agriculture and the improvement of commerce, (the highways of which crossed their territory,) riches and power; while others, shut up in steppes and mountains, continued true to their original habits, which their situation in a manner prescribed.

To this latter class belonged the Persians; the portion of the race of which we have occasion to speak at present. One of the first observations which must impress itself on the mind of the historian must be this, that the constitution of their country could not have sprung up at once, but must have been the gradual effect of time and circumstances. The question, what were their habits and form of government when they effected the conquest of Asia, is the first to be answered, if we would trace the development of their civilization.

Their original abode may be fixed with certainty, the general testimony of all antiquity proving them to have been a race of mountaineers, inhabiting the wild and hilly region of Fars, or Persia properly so called: Herodotus[11] tells us, that "The Persians originally occupied a small and rugged country, and that it was proposed in the time of Cyrus that they should exchange this for one more fertile; a plan which Cyrus discouraged, as likely to extinguish their hardy and warlike habits! Arrian[12] from more ancient authorities assures us of the same fact; "That the Persians, when, under Cyrus, they conquered all Asia, were a poor people, inhabiting a rugged country;" to whose testimony must be added the still more full and important evidence of Plato, who was contemporary with their monarchy. "The Persians," he assures us,[13] "were originally a nation of shepherds and herdsmen, occupying a rude country, such as naturally fosters a hardy race of people, capable of supporting both cold and watching, and, when needful, of enduring the toils of war." It will appear, however, from the names of some of their tribes, that the Persians were not confined to Persis properly so called, but extended over the steppes of Carmania and to the shores of the Caspian.

It is clear from the above authorities that the Persians were at the commencement a race of shepherds and mountaineers. However much, therefore, their own legends may have disguised or embellished the truth, any one acquainted with the course of Asiatic history in general will have no difficulty in detecting the true character of the revolution of which they were the authors. It was no unusual occurrence in the East for mighty empires to arise from similar beginnings.

Agreeably to what was invariably the case among the great nomad races, the Persians were subdivided into several hordes or tribes, of which Herodotus has given us an excellent account.[14] The number of these hordes was ten, and they were no less distinguished from one another by their differences of rank than by their modes of life.

[11] HEROD. ix. 122.

[12] ARRIAN, v. 4.

[13] PLATO *de Legg.* iii. *Op.* ii. p. 695. A passage of classical importance as far as regards the ancient Persian history.

[14] HEROD. i. 125.

Three of them were noble; the Pasargadæ, the noblest of them all, the Maraphii, and the Maspii. Three other tribes devoted themselves to agriculture, the Panthialæi, the Derusii, and the Germanii;[15] while four others, the Dai, Mardi,[16] Dropici, and Sagartii continued to retain their wandering and nomad habits, but are occasionally mentioned (more especially the last) as contributing hardy bands of cavalry to the Persian armies.[17] The extensive salt deserts which divide Persia from Media, as well as the plains of Southern Persia, offered inexhaustible pasture to the cattle of these hordes, whenever they thought proper to descend from their mountains.

Two principal observations illustrative of the history of Persia naturally flow from these facts, as recorded by Herodotus: 1st. We must discard the idea that the Persian nation, even at the most flourishing epoch of its history, was universally and equally civilized. A part of the nation ruled the remainder, and this portion alone had attained a certain degree of civilization by its acquaintance with the arts of peace and of luxury. The other tribes continued in their original barbarism, and partook but little, or not at all, in the improvement of the race. Persian history, therefore, as it has come down to us, is not so much the history of the whole nation as of certain tribes, or possibly even of a single tribe, that of the Pasargadæ. These composed the court, and it appears that, almost without exception, all that was distinguished among the Persians proceeded from them.

When we contemplate in this point of view what Xenophon in the Cyropædia has told us of the Persians, especially as relates to their national education, we are struck by the greater degree of probability which his account acquires;

[15] Probably the same with the Carmanians, or inhabitants of Kerman, who continue to give some attention to agriculture.

[16] Of these the Mardi occupied the mountains to the south of the Caspian; the Dai, the sandy plains to the east of that sea.

[17] The statement of the historian is corroborated in the most satisfactory manner by the accounts of latest travellers. The case continues on the whole to be the same in modern Persia. MORIER (i. p. 240) tells us that the Persian nation is split into tribes having their several chiefs or heads; and that some occupy permanent habitations, while others continue to dwell in tents: the numbers of the latter class being, it is probable, greater than those of the agriculturists. The strength of the nation (says Kinneir) consists in the nomad hordes; and he proves their numbers by his statements at p. 45. The mode of life which nature herself has prescribed must needs be invariable.

the discipline which would have been impossible in the case of an entire nation, being very practicable as applied to a single tribe.

2ndly. The above particulars would at once lead us to conclude, that in a country so constituted every thing would depend on descent and the distinctions of tribe. As the tribes were distinguished by a greater or a less degree of nobility, so there was a gradation also in the different families of which each tribe was composed. The noblest family of the most noble tribe was that of the Achæmenidæ, from which exclusively the kings of Persia were always taken.[18] The same distinction of more or less noble tribes has at all times existed among most of the nomad nations of Central and Southern Asia, the Arabs and Mongols, and probably had its origin in the military pride of the more warlike, to which the rest were reduced to pay homage. The tribes thus distinguished by descent are often rendered still more distinct by the different modes of life they pursue, and hence arises the distinction of castes, which has so invariably prevailed among certain nations of the East. To judge from the examples of other oriental nations, this gradation of ranks prevailed among the Persians at a period anterior to their empire,[19] and (though we have no direct evidence of it in history) may probably have been anciently connected with a degree of actual authority residing in the superior tribes and families. However this may be, the historian who would investigate the constitution of a nomad people, establishing itself in permanent abodes and attaining to dominion, ought to give his close attention to this question, almost to the exclusion of all others: namely, how a political constitution came to be gradually formed from the mere association of so many tribes?

The revolt of the Persians against the Medes, a very simple circumstance in itself, and readily accounted for by the fact that the revolted nation were tributaries to the other, became by its consequences an event of the highest importance, and the groundwork of numberless exaggerations and

[18] HEROD. loc. cit. He calls it φρήτρη.

[19] In this manner we hear of the golden horde among the Calmucs; and we find that among the Mongols this dominion of tribes degenerates, even in their nomad state, into the most absolute tyranny. PALLAS, *Mongol Völker*, i. 185.

fictions. The legends respecting the childhood and youth of Cyrus, and the causes which led to the revolution achieved by him, like those of Ginghis-Khan, are involved in a cloud of fable which it would be in vain to attempt to dissipate, and which, if removed, would probably ill repay the labours of the inquirer. Accident has frequently been at the bottom of such insurrections: a slight and occasional cause has often sufficed to set in motion those armed and warlike hordes, which, accumulating like a mass of snow, presently forms an avalanche, crushing kingdoms and empires in its resistless descent.

The only circumstance in this part of ancient history which deserves our attention, is the fact which Herodotus has recorded, that previous to the revolt, Cyrus procured himself to be appointed generalissimo of all the Persian tribes. This is described as having been effected by craft, and the Persian conqueror is said to have accomplished his purpose by a method similar to that adopted by Ginghis-Khan among the Mongols, before he also began his conquering career. The method pursued by both is decidedly characteristic of a rude state of society, when men were to be wrought upon only by appeals to their senses.[20]

[20] "When the assembled tribes," says HERODOTUS, (i. 126,) "in conformity with his subtle design, which he pretended to confirm by exhibiting a fictitious written order, as if from the Median king, appointing him commander-in-chief, immediately recognised him as such, he ordered them to attend on the following day in a field overgrown with thistles, each prepared with a reaping-hook. Accordingly, therefore, when they were all come together, he set them to work the whole day in clearing the field; when they had executed their task, they were desired to attend the following day to feast and make merry. For this purpose Cyrus collected and slew all the goats, sheep, and oxen, which were the property of his father; and further to promote the entertainment of the Persians, he added rich wines and abundance of delicacies. The next day, when they were met, he desired them to recline on the grass and enjoy themselves. When they were satisfied, he inquired of them which day's fare delighted them the most. They replied, the contrast betwixt the two was strong indeed, as on the first day they had nothing but what was bad, on the second day every thing that was good. On receiving this answer, Cyrus no longer hesitated to explain the purpose which he had in view: 'Men of Persia,' he exclaimed, 'you are the arbiters of your own fortune; if you obey me, you will enjoy these and greater advantages, without any servile toils: if you are hostile to my projects, you must prepare to encounter worse hardships than those of yesterday. My voice is the voice of freedom; Providence appears to have reserved me to be the instrument of your prosperity; you are, doubtless, equal to the Medes in every thing, and most assuredly are as brave!'" Compare the account of the elevation of Ginghis-Khan to the rank of general-in-chief of the Mongols in LACROIX, *Hist. de Ginghis-Khan*, p. 77.

As general of the armies of Persia, Cyrus assumed the name or title by which he is constantly known and designated in history, and which betokens the sun ;[21] his original name having been Agradates.[22] It has been the invariable custom of princes of the East to change the names of their birth for surnames or titles of honour, as Ginghis-Khan from the time of his elevation to the throne received the appellation of Temugin ;[23] and we have had occasion to remark that this has continued to be the custom of Persia, down to the most recent time.[24]

We have already analyzed the course of the conquests of Cyrus, who overcame all the kingdoms of Asia : his course, like that of all the other great nomad incursions, being from east to west. His host, as was generally the case in Asia, consisted principally of cavalry, perpetually accumulating fresh recruits from the conquered nations, (which also took place with later Persian armaments,) and thus his wars resembled in some sense the migrations of an entire people, who, for a time at least, were transplanted from their original seats to other countries. The sieges of cities were the operation which, as requiring the greatest degree of skill, was the most formidable to these warlike wanderers ; and if art had not come in to succour force, it is possible that the walls of Babylon might have opposed a continual barrier to their further progress. As yet, they were unacquainted with any other method of vanquishing such obstacles than that of throwing up an agger equal to the height of the wall, and from this assailing the ramparts of the city.[25]

The expeditions of Cyrus, however, are of less importance than his institutions for the administration, and at the same time for retaining possession of the conquered countries.

Little as history has recorded of these institutions, that little is in close accordance with what we might have been led to anticipate ; being exactly of that simple character which must at all times mark the system of a conquering

[21] CTESIAS, apud PLUT. in ARTAXERXE, *Op.* i. p. 1012 : Khor in Parsee signifies the sun.
[22] STRABO, p. 1060, as corrected by PALMERIUS.
[23] LACROIX, *Hist. de Ghinghis-Khan*, p. 77.
[24] See above, p. 57. [25] HEROD. i. 162.

nation like the Persians, and being, in fact, precisely similar to those of the Mongols under Ginghis-Khan. The conquered provinces were left in the occupation of armies commanded by generals charged with the duty of keeping them in subjection, and answerable for the security of the conquest. Associated with these were the receivers of the king's tribute, whose office was to levy, and remit it to the royal exchequer, while the commanders of the garrisons of the several cities remained independent of both; the secure possession of the conquered cities being important in the same degree as their conquest had been difficult.[26] These were precisely the regulations adopted by the first great Mongol conqueror, when his conquering hordes overran the very countries which had been subdued by Cyrus.

The tributes to be collected were never accurately defined by the Persian government. The whole of the conquered country, with all its inhabitants, was looked upon as their absolute property; of which they might appropriate whatever they preferred.[27] The sums levied were denominated presents;[28] but it would be a false inference to conclude from the use of this term any thing in favour of the mildness or forbearance of the administration. The obstinate resistance which most of the Grecian colonies of Asia Minor had opposed to the generals of Cyrus, and their despair, which drove many of them to plan, and some to execute, a complete abandonment of their native country, are ample proofs of the contrary.[29] In the case, indeed, of undefined arbitrary imposts, every thing must of course depend on the character of the sovereign for the time being, and the clemency attributed by his subjects to Cyrus is easily explained by the harshness and oppression of his successors.[30]

Various methods have been at different times adopted for the maintenance of dominion acquired by conquest, and

[26] See the account of Cyrus's arrangements in Lydia, where Mazacus was commander-in-chief, Tatalus governor of Sardes, and the traitor Pactyas receiver-general of the treasury, HEROD. i. 153—156; and compare those of Ginghis-Khan, in LACROIX, *Hist. de Ginghis-Khan*, p. 276, sq.

[27] HEROD. ix. 116. [28] Ibid. iii. 89. [29] Ibid. i. 164.

[30] MORIER (i. 237) shows that presents in the East are, to this day, of the most oppressive description; in fact, tribute under another name. The whole burden, however, ultimately falls on the inferior landholders.

it cannot be without its use to inquire into the nature of the plans, (some of them highly remarkable,) which were devised by infant despotism for the permanent subjugation of mankind.

The most natural and simple of these was the plan of keeping on foot standing armies in the conquered districts, composed in part of hordes of the conquerors, and in part (especially at a later period) of mercenary troops. A military government was thus established, and that at the cost of the vanquished, who, as we shall show, were compelled to be at the whole expense of maintaining their conquerors.

A second, and no less common method, was the transplanting, as it were, of such conquered nations, as, after having been once overcome, had proved refractory. Instances of this occur previous to the Persian monarchy, and are familiar to all, from the Jewish records of the Babylonian captivity. The Persians, however, not only retained but extended this practice. Examples occur in almost every reign, and occasionally we meet with the remains of nations forcibly transported from Europe or Africa, into the very heart of Asia.[31] In the case of islanders, it was even their custom to make a sweep of the inhabitants. The army of the conquerors was formed in a line, extending across the island, and drove before it every thing which bore the human form, leaving a desert behind![32] "It is the characteristic of despotism," (says Montesquieu,) "to cut down the tree in order to get at the fruit."[33] The most usual situations appointed for such exiles, were the islands of the Persian Gulf, and the Indian Ocean; and, as examples had occurred of entire nations, impelled by longing for their native land, escaping, in spite of a hundred dangers, from their places of exile, it was the design of the conquerors to select spots from which flight was impossible.[34] Such transplanted na-

[31] I have no doubt that the celebrated colony of Egyptians, which Herodotus visited at Colchis, was the effect of some such transplantation of the race, by Nebuchadnezzar or some other of the Asiatic monarchs who penetrated into Egypt. See HEROD. ii. 104, 105. In like manner a colony of six thousand Egyptians was transported to Susa on the conquest of that country by Cambyses. CTES. *Pers.* cap. 9.

[32] The Greeks called this sort of chase very appropriately σαγηνεύειν, to sweep with a drag-net. HEROD. vi. 31; cf. BRISSON, p. 781, etc.

[33] *Esprit des Loix*, vi. 9.

[34] For instance, the Pœonians, in HEROD. v. 98.

tions (styled by Herodotus ἀναστάστοι) gradually appeared to constitute, as it were, a new nation, and are occasionally mentioned in connexion with the expeditions of the Persians.[35]

A third and perhaps still more extraordinary method adopted for the same end, was that of compelling by positive laws, certain powerful and warlike nations to adopt habits of luxury and effeminacy. In this manner the Lydians were constrained by Cyrus to deliver up their arms, to clothe themselves in effeminate apparel, and to train up their youth in habits of gaming and drinking.[36] In this way, from the most warlike people of Asia, they soon became the most effeminate: a lot which, within a short time, was shared by their conquerors also, uncompelled by any legal enforcement of luxury.

Such are some of the features which characterize the Persian empire on its first establishment; but the rude victors very soon adopted much of the manners, the modes of life, and even the religion of the vanquished; as was the case, also, with other nations resembling them in circumstances, and the degree of civilization they had attained. In the arts of luxury and habits of effeminacy, the Persians became the pupils of the Medes, the Babylonians, and Lydians; just as the Mongols, who overthrew the Chinese empire, adopted the manners of the Chinese. It has been already remarked, that nomad tribes are peculiarly prone to adopt such changes, owing to their unsettled mode of life, and because the desire of sensual gratifications is the only motive which spurs them to conquest. The Persians, however, showed such a peculiar aptness in this particular, that Herodotus himself makes the remark,[37] "that no nation in the world was so ready to adopt foreign customs;" and even as early as the time of Cyrus, that conqueror, as we have already remarked,[38] was obliged to bind them to their native land by national institutions, foreseeing the pernicious consequences which would follow upon their desertion of it.

[35] Herod. vii. 80; cf. Brisson, p. 58. These islands, however, can only have been devoted to the above purpose from the time of Darius Hystaspis, because the Persians then first became masters of them. See Herod. iv. 44.

[36] It must be remarked, however, that Cyrus adopted this plan at the suggestion of Crœsus, who thus saved his people from the doom of transportation. Herod. i. 135.

[37] Herod. i. 135.

[38] See above, p. 213.

The records both of the Greeks and Jews prove that the Medes, hitherto the ruling nation, were the principal instructors of the Persians, not only in the manners and habits of domestic life, but as respected their public institutions, the consanguinity of the two races contributing to produce this effect. The new monarchy is usually denominated the Medo-Persian, the Jewish chroniclers commonly mention together the laws of the Medes and Persians,[39] and while the Persians assumed the rank of the sovereign race, it is no less certain that the Medes came next to them in importance. It must not, however, be forgotten, that the name of Media embraced other nations besides that properly so called; comprising the more civilized regions of Eastern Asia, and, in particular, Bactriana. The customs of Media were, therefore, those also of Eastern Asia in general, and the remarks above made on the remains of Persepolis, tend to show how much had been adopted from those of the Bactrians.

There is no question that the whole system of the court, and particularly the seraglio, or harem, of the king and the grandees, as well as the dress and manners of private life, were borrowed from the Medes; but together with these they adopted the religion of that nation, with all its ceremonies, political and religious. The caste of the Magi, to which had been committed by Zoroaster the conservation of these ordinances, originally of Median descent,[40] became the priest-caste of the Persians, and, as such, possessed great influence in the government. In the next section I shall endeavour to analyze the spirit of this religious legislation, and at the same time to defend the position I have laid down, (in opposition to the common belief,) that its origin dates further back than the commencement of the Persian dynasty. At present I would only entreat my reader to guard against the erroneous opinion that all the Persians at once adopted the manners and religion of the conquered. It is apparent from what has been said, and will be still more certain from the sequel, that this change took place only in a part of the nation, namely, in the ruling tribe or

[39] Book of ESTHER, i. 18, 19; DANIEL, vi. 8, etc. [40] HEROD. i. 101.

race; and even in the case of these, it is self-evident, even if we were not able to adduce express evidence, that such an alteration could not have taken place at once in the opinions, the manners, and the customs of the victors; and that the change could not have been a complete one, but rather that an admixture must have taken place of the manners of the two nations, which may be still distinctly recognised in its effects.[41]

The disposition of his empire which Cyrus made before his death is worthy of observation, and completely in character with the spirit of the great Asiatic conquerors. He divided it between his two sons, ordaining, however, that the younger, to whom he bequeathed Bactriana and the adjacent countries, though not a tributary, should be dependent on the elder.[42]

The internal constitution of Persia appears to have received little development under the reign of his successor Cambyses. Like his father, he also was a conqueror, and, by the concurrent testimony of Ctesias and Herodotus, achieved the conquest of Egypt. In estimating the character of this prince, however, as given by Herodotus, great allowance must be made for the hatred borne him by the Egyptian priests, who could never forgive him the humiliation and loss of dignity to which he had subjected them, and were thus led to represent him as brain-sick and epileptical. He is described in a less odious light by Ctesias,[43] except that the murder of his brother, whom he suspected of a design to supplant him in his authority, leaves him with a stain, which is of too frequent and almost uniform occurrence on a change of reign in the Asiatic monarchies. The continual wars which, like his father, he waged at a distance from his own country, and his consequent absence from the seat of government, were little favourable to the advancement of civilization at home. Nevertheless, the foundation of the principal cities of Persia, and the adoption in the

[41] The illustrations of the remains of Persepolis must have already afforded sufficient proofs of this. Compare, however, the observations of H. D. KLEUKER, in the Appendix to the *Zendavesta*, ii. iii. p. 13, etc.

[42] CTESIAS (*Pers.* 8) calls the younger brother Tanyoxances: Herodotus names him Smerdis.

[43] CTESIAS, cap. 9.

court at that early period of the Median system of education, prove that a great alteration had already taken place in the manners of at least the principal tribe.[44]

The events, however, which followed upon the death of Cambyses, the two revolutions of the pretended Smerdis and of Darius Hystaspis, deserve our observation in the highest degree.

The first of these events was a revolution concocted within the seraglio. It is usual to consider it as an attempt of the Magians to get possession of the sovereign authority, because the principal conspirator belonged to that caste; but by the express evidence of the most credible authorities, the conspiracy had a higher object, namely, the re-establishment of the monarchy of the Medes.[45] The Magians, as we have observed, were a Median race; and it was natural for the Medes, when the true stock of Cyrus had ended in Cambyses, to aim at a resumption of their ancient sway. The commotions which ensued were so vast as to be felt throughout all Asia;[46] but it is well known that the attempt was rendered abortive by the assassination of the pretended Smerdis by the seven Persian chiefs, among whom was Darius Hystaspis, who afterwards succeeded to the throne.[47]

The history of this conspiracy, as detailed by Herodotus, contains much that is interesting as well as surprising, for one engaged in the study of the state and constitution of

[44] This remark is admirably developed by Plato. He traces the disorders which occurred during the reign and after the decease of Cambyses, to the adoption by the Persian king of the Median custom of committing the education of the heir to the throne to the women and eunuchs of the seraglio. PLATO, *Op.* ii. p. 695.

[45] "Cambyses," says Plato, (loc. cit.,) "was for his debauchery and madness deprived of his empire by the Medes, by means of the eunuchs, but Darius restored the kingdom to the Persians." "Shall we that are Persians endure to be governed by a Mede?" demands Gobryas of the other conspirators. HEROD. iii. 73. See especially the last speech of Cambyses. Ibid. iii. 65.

[46] HEROD. iii. 126. The Magian pretender had remitted the imposts for three years, which were afterwards to be collected by his successor. Ibid. iii. 67.

[47] That an undertaking, such as that ascribed to the Magians, is completely in the spirit of the great empires of the East, is proved by the accurate and highly instructive account which we possess of a revolution attempted a few years since in China, where certain Bonzes undertook to overthrow the ruling dynasty, and establish another in its place: an exact counterpart to the narration of Herodotus! See HENKE ARCHIV *für die Neueste Kirchengeschichte*, B. ii. p. 385, etc.

Persia. The question which we are told was agitated, after the assassination of the usurper, whether Persia should thenceforward be governed by a monarchy, aristocracy, or democracy, is so singular a phenomenon in Asiatic history, that, even in the time of Herodotus himself, many of the Greeks were disposed to disbelieve it.[48] The historian, however, expressly asserts the fact; which is sufficient to prove that it cannot have been a mere fiction of his own.[49] It is much more probable that there existed some foundation for the narrative of Herodotus, though all acquainted with the usages of the East will readily be convinced that the fact has been disguised by a Grecian dress. If the historian had named his authorities, we might indeed have formed a more certain opinion; in the absence of these we are reduced to reason upon analogies drawn from the practices of other nations, possessing the same constitution with that of ancient Persia. With such nations it is not an unusual occurrence for the heads of various tribes or families to meet for the purpose of discussing the claims of a successor to the throne;[50] and all that we know of the seven conspirators tends to prove, that either they were the heads of the tribes of Persia, or that they belonged to the race of the Pasargadæ. By the express testimony of historians, they were of the number of the most illustrious among the Persians: Darius himself being the son of the governor of the province of Persia, and belonging to the family of the Achæmenidæ.[51] Their dignity was so considerable that, as the narrative proves, they were allowed to approach directly the person of the monarch, without being stopped by his guards. All this appears to put it beyond question that they were the chiefs of Persian tribes. Supposing this to be the case, we may readily perceive, that it is no improbable circumstance that an aristocracy of this sort, consisting of the heads of tribes, should be proposed and discussed. The proposal of a democracy would appear, on the same grounds, to be

[48] Herod. iii. 80. [49] Ibid. loc. cit. He repeats his assertion, vi. 43.

[50] Compare the account of the convention of the heads of tribes of the Mongols, and their deliberation respecting the choice of Mangu-Khan, the third in succession from Ginghis-Khan, A. D. 1250, *Hist. des Tartares*, p. 377, etc.

[51] Herod. iii. 70; cf. vii. 11; which places prove the family of Darius to have been a branch of that of the Achæmenidæ.

nothing more than a pre-eminence accorded to the principal tribe, as is the case with the "golden horde" among the Mongols. Such a supposition, though it be impossible to establish it by positive proof, appears to be the only one in accordance with the known usages and temper of oriental nations.

The reign of Darius Hystaspis is unquestionably that which possesses most interest for the student of the ancient Persian constitution. It was to this monarch that the empire owed the commencement of what might be called its "internal organization," having previously consisted of nothing more than an incongruous union of conquered nations. It was in his time that the crisis occurred, which necessarily takes place in the history of every nomad nation which has attained a dominion by conquest, when the simple institutions of a constitution of tribes are exchanged for those of a regular state, although traces of the former are allowed to remain. Darius himself, as well as Cyrus and Cambyses, was of the ruling family of the Achæmenidæ; yet we find that he esteemed it essential to the confirmation of his title to take in marriage a daughter of Cyrus.[52] The nation looked up for a monarch to this family, and although in Asiatic kingdoms the rule of primogeniture does not necessarily determine the right of succession, yet the idea is very general that the monarch must be taken from the reigning family.

The services which Darius rendered his country by improving its internal organization were of more than one description. In the first place, it is certain that he first established the royal residence in certain fixed situations, and thus led the way to a change in the habits of the ruling tribe, from a nomad life to one more stationary; although, as we shall have occasion to see hereafter, the domestic manners of the Persian kings themselves continued to retain somewhat of their ancient character. Cyrus and Cambyses were almost constantly engaged in wars at a distance from their country; but from the time of Darius, who was himself a conqueror, Susa appears to have been the customary residence of the king, though occasionally exchanged for

[52] HEROD. vii. 11.

that of Babylon or Ecbatana; and (as we have had occasion to see) part of the monuments of Persepolis were of his erection.

The principal step, however, which was made in the reign of Darius, towards a better internal administration of the country, was "the division of the empire into satrapies." An accurate division into departments is the first thing necessary to the organization of an empire of great extent, whatever may be its form of government; and in despotic states, in particular, is the only method by which the absolute authority of the monarch can be extended through all the gradations of his subjects, and thereby more effectually consolidated. Imperfect as was the departmental division of the empire, being rather ethnical than geographical,[53] yet the beneficial effects which resulted were considerable. A regular nomination of governors was a necessary consequence, as well as a regular collection of the tribute, which was the original object of the plan;[54] and the former of these institutions led to that of an established civil administration, which was the more certainly and speedily effected, because, as we shall show, it was kept distinct from the military government.

The long reign of Darius sufficed to bring to maturity his plans, and under his successor, Xerxes, the Persian empire assumes the appearance of an internally organized country. It is to be regretted that Herodotus is principally engaged with the details of the wars of this prince, and the remains of Ctesias are in no one point so defective as where they bear upon the history of this reign. Nevertheless, even these records suffice to prove that, as the internal constitution of the empire was first established in the reigns of these princes, so also the seeds were then sown of those abuses, which in the sequel proved fatal to the existence of the empire.

Even in the time of Darius began those mighty armaments against Europe which led to all the fatal effects subsequently developed. Not only did the prodigious efforts, and boundless expense, which these expeditions demanded, drain the empire of men and exhaust its resources, but the Persians soon perceived, to their cost, that they could effect

[53] See above, p. 63. [54] Herod. iii. 89.

little with those undisciplined hordes, compelled to march into another quarter of the globe, against a people who, besides their courage and patriotism, were possessed of military discipline; and who were inspirited by their past successes to assume an offensive attitude. These circumstances brought about a revolution in the military system of the Persians, who saw themselves compelled to maintain by arms the dominion they had forcibly acquired; and who, with the most important results to themselves, lost their own military character, and fell the faster into an almost incredible excess of luxury and effeminacy.[55] In the armament of Xerxes, the Persians are still cited as the most valiant nation, but with their defeat they lost this distinction, and it became the practice to compose the body of their armies of mercenary soldiers, especially Grecians, though the nomad tribes of Central Asia are often mentioned as having served in the pay of Persia. The consequence was, that even in his time Xenophon confesses that the Persian troops were scarcely of any use, and his own history proves that the fate of a battle was usually decided by the Greek auxiliaries. Historians have not yet fully developed all the evil consequences to the character of both nations which flowed from this practice, and influenced the history of the world at large. Bands of men, governed by no motive but their individual interests, and selling themselves without scruple to the highest bidder, cannot but degenerate into hordes of banditti, among whom, as the history of Xenophon alone may suffice to show, it must have been impossible to maintain discipline. The facility with which such armies were got together contributed in an especial manner to augment the frequency of wars; and in consequence of the general insecurity which ensued, it frequently happens that the times subsequent to a war proved more disastrous than the war itself. The abolition of this practice has been one good effect of our standing armies; and notwithstanding all the abuses which the latter institution may entail, the enlightened philanthropist will not overlook the disastrous consequences which would follow upon an exchange of the present system for that established of old.

[55] See the comparison, which Xenophon draws, of the Persian customs of his time, with those of an earlier period. *Cyropædia, sub. fin.*

Another cause of the internal decomposition of the Persian empire, must be sought in the refractory conduct and frequent revolts of the satraps. It had been attempted to guard against this by separating the civil and military powers; but the great extent of the satrapies must necessarily have had the effect of allowing these two distinct authorities to counteract and reverse their several operations. As an empire increases in extent, it becomes necessary that it should be subdivided into a number of small, and consequently feeble, provinces, in order to prevent the rebellion and usurpation of more powerful satraps. The princes of Persia, however, were guilty of the folly, not only of neglecting to diminish, in any degree, the extent of the provinces, but even of intrusting several governments to the same individual, more especially when the satrap in question belonged directly to the family of the king, being a brother or other near kinsman.[56] So far was this practice from preventing rebellion, that it directly encouraged it, as we learn by the example of the younger Cyrus; and the more so, as it was a frequent custom to nominate the governor of the province to the command of the army, and commit the civil and military authorities to the same person. Such revolts of the satraps began in the time of Artaxerxes I., the successor of Xerxes, and grandson of Darius,[57] and were promoted by the relations in which Persia stood to Greece and Egypt, the western countries of Asia—Asia Minor and Syria being the usual theatres where they were enacted. The inveterate hatred which the Egyptians bore to their conquerors, and the constant dissensions of Greece, rendered it no difficult matter for a revolted subject to obtain succour from one or other of those countries;[58] and in this respect those remote provinces acquired a high degree of importance in the eyes of the government,

[56] This was the case with the younger Cyrus, *Anab.* I. *Op.* p. 243. Another example is furnished by XENOPHON, *Hist. Gr. Op.* p. 480. The same is the case at the present day in modern Persia.

[57] Compare CTESIAS, *Pers.* cap. 23. Scarcely any one contributed more to this effect than Megabyzus, the satrap of Syria, who was one of the first to set the example, and who, notwithstanding his reverses, left behind him a party which proved formidable to the royal authority. CTESIAS, cap. 22, etc.

[58] During the latter half of the period of the Persian dynasty, occurred the Peloponnesian war, which afforded continual encouragement to both the factions into which Greece was split.

and became the principal objects of their policy, while, in spite of all the precautions that were taken, the evil continually gained ground, especially after the revolt of the younger Cyrus. He had been joined by several satraps of Asia Minor, and this gave occasion to leagues formed among the satraps themselves, of which frequent instances occur in the subsequent history of Persia.[59] Without the assistance of a party among them, how could the Spartan king, Agesilaus, with a handful of his countrymen, have defied the whole power of Persia, and shake the throne of the great king in Asia?

Lastly, the monstrous corruption of the court, or rather of the harem, was another no less powerful cause of the decay of the empire. Every thing was here subject to the influence of eunuchs, of the reigning queen, or, still more, of the queen-mother. It is necessary to have studied, in the court-history of Ctesias, the character and violent actions of an Amytis or Amistris, or, still more, a Parysatis, to form an adequate idea of the nature of such a harem-government. The gratification of the passions, the thirst for vengeance, and the impulse of hatred, no less than voluptuousness and pride, were the springs which moved every thing in this corrupted circle; passions which acquire a force in proportion to the narrowness of the circle in which they are exercised. None of the Persian kings (with the single exception perhaps of Cambyses) appears to have had an innate proneness to cruelty; but the furious effects of female hatred and vengeance were not, on that account, a whit the less formidable; and it is impossible to read without shuddering, the descriptions of the horrible and premeditated punishments which were executed at the command of the females of the royal family, when the sanction of the monarch had been obtained.[60]

These causes combined to prepare the downfal of the Persian monarchy, in the second century of its existence: resembling, in this respect, other great despotic dynasties, which, at first, collapse in their internal structure, and on an impulse from without, are shaken to pieces. We behold,

[59] See DIOD. xv. xvi.

[60] Compare the accounts of HERODOTUS, ix. 109, 113, with those of CTESIAS, *Pers.* 42, etc.

in the present day, a similar empire, which possibly may not even require the reverses of three defeats, to afford on the banks of the Hellespont, the same spectacle which followed the success of Alexander on the Granicus, at Issus, and at Arbela.

II. POWER AND PRIVILEGES OF THE MONARCH. LIMITATIONS IMPOSED BY THE CODE OF ZOROASTER. COURT, HAREM, AND DOMESTIC LIFE OF THE KING.

In the great empires of Asia, the person of the monarch is the central point around which every thing else revolves: according to the notions of the East, he is regarded not merely as the ruler, but rather as the master and proprietor of the lands and lives of all. On this leading principle were founded all the institutions of that continent, and these were frequently stretched to a length, which to civilized Europeans, living in the undisturbed possession of personal freedom and the rights of property, appears either incomprehensible or ridiculous.[1]

The monarchs of Persia present themselves to the historian of antiquity precisely in the same attitude, and invested with the same splendour, which usually characterizes the despots of the East. At the same time the justice of this idea has been questioned, and several authors have even described them as possessing a limited authority.[2] The cause, however, of this discrepancy appears to lie not so much in a real contradiction as in a misapprehension, which can only be removed by a right understanding of the nature of despotic governments in general, and in an especial manner those of the East. An examination into this question will lead us to discuss another respecting the legal institutions of the East, and those especially which were peculiar to the Persians.

Since the time of Locke and Montesquieu, it has been constantly the aim of political writers to carry still further

[1] If a Mongol plucks another by the tuft of hair on his head, he is liable to punishment, not because he has committed an assault, but because the tuft is the property of the king! PALLAS, *Mongol. Völker*, i. p. 194.

[2] GATTERER, *Versuch einer allgemeinen Weltgeschichte*, p. 180.

the distinctions drawn by them, respecting the different forms of government; but as long as these theorists adhered to the threefold division handed down from the days of Aristotle, of the monarchical, aristocratic, and democratic governments, it was impossible that much progress should be made in such speculations. It was impossible that any satisfactory result should be obtained so long as men assumed, as an essential division, a distinction which respected merely the number of the rulers, and not the nature of the government. The only solid distinction must arise out of the relations in which the governing part of the community, whether consisting of a single, or many members, stands to the governed. The differences belonging to such relations can alone afford a principle, according to which the different forms of civil government may be classed. The essential character of a republican form of government is, that the possessor of the executive authority is responsible and subordinate to the people, as their magistrate: while in monarchies the executive, residing in the person of the sovereign, is exalted above the rest of the community. In the former case the supreme power resides with the people; in the latter, with the king.[3] The monarchical form, however, leaves room for three different relations between the rulers and the ruled; according as the mass of the community may stand in the situation of vassals, subjects, or citizens. By vassals, I mean such as are not possessed of personal freedom, nor the free use of their private will; their ruler is a despot, and these relations are the foundation of what are called despotic governments. By subjects we must be understood to mean such as are possessed, indeed, of personal freedom, but have no share in the public councils, nor any civil freedom; and in such relations originate what are called autocratic forms of government, or, as they are commonly termed, unlimited monarchies. Lastly, by citizens, we mean such as not only possess private freedom, but through the medium of public assemblies, conventions of the States-General, or representatives chosen by themselves, participate in the public councils, and enjoy alike personal and civil

[3] For a further development of this idea, see my essay *Ueber den Einfluss der politischen Theorien in Europa und die Erhaltung des Monarchischen Prinzips. Hist. Werke*, i. 434, etc.

liberty. The ruler of such a nation continues to be a prince or sovereign so long as the popular assemblies cannot be holden without his consent, nor establish any ordinance without his concurrence.

This last class presupposes, at least to a certain extent, the existence of that division of powers which is generally designated by the executive and legislative authorities, since it is this participation in the legislative functions, whether personal and direct, or by means of deputies, which implies an interest in the public councils. Such constitutions, however, with all their immense results to the cause of civilization and human happiness, flourish only under the climate of Europe: it is only in Europe that, in the proper sense of the term, there has ever existed a constitutional monarchy.

If we apply these theoretical principles to the great Asiatic kingdoms, (with which alone, and not with any isolated states or small communities, like those in Phœnicia, or India, we have to do,) it is easy to perceive that they all belong to the class first described. In none of these was the legislative power lodged in the hands of the people, nor was the idea of such a state of things ever even started among them. On the contrary, not only did both the legislative and executive powers reside in the hands of the monarch, but to these was also added the supreme judicial authority; and history even asserts that in some cases the regal office grew out of the exercise of the latter;[4] and it must be observed, that next to the causes which have been enumerated in the Introduction, as tending to create the despotic governments of the East, there was none which was calculated to produce that effect so much as this sort of origin of the sovereign power. From the want of a civil and criminal code, every thing was left to the judgment or caprice of the judge, and a way prepared by which he might readily make himself master of the lives and properties of those under his jurisdiction. The oppressions which result from an abuse of the judicial authority are peculiarly galling, and the first attempts at legislation on the part of the people are generally directed to the reformation of abuses in this department; especially with a

[4] Herodotus expressly says this of the Medes and their first king Deioces. Ibid. i. 96, 97.

view to the prevention of corruption. Recent political writers have even assumed, as the characteristic distinction between despotic and limited monarchies, that the courts of justice in the latter are independent of the control of the government.

This concentration of all the powers of the state in the person of the king, makes it impossible to suppose that our ideas of a limited monarchy, like those which exist in Europe, could in any degree apply to the kingdoms of the East: the leading principle of which, whether formally recognised or tacitly admitted, was this, that the sovereign was not only an irresponsible autocrat, but the master also of the lives and fortunes of his subjects. Consequently the notion of the rights of free citizenship, in the European sense of the term, was utterly unknown; all, from the highest to the lowest, being looked upon as the vassals of the monarch, and the monarch's right of disposing of any individual without any personal and formal servitude on his part, according to his good pleasure, was never contested on the part of the nation.[5]

Unlimited as such a system of despotism must be pronounced to have been, according to European principles of government, it nevertheless was not without its restraints, imposed by other circumstances. The very nature of things made it necessarily less exorbitant in practice than in theory. The despot can tyrannize only within the narrow circle of those by whom he is surrounded. Accordingly, the iron sceptre of oriental despotism fell immediately on the heads of the great and the powerful who were in the service of the king; and the punishment of satraps and pashas, on the smallest shadow of suspicion, has ever, in the East, been one of the most ordinary occurrences. The mass of the people, on the other hand, have at all times been removed by distance from the observation of the monarch; and self-interest has made it a maxim with the latter to observe rigid justice towards the great body of the people. The avarice and partiality of the satraps, however, and of their inferiors, suffice to grind down the commons; and it is for this reason

[5] On this subject, compare MORIER, i. p. 212, in reference to the modern Persians. See also what we have remarked above, (p. 18, note,) of the present Shah of Persia.

that we constantly find, in the case of all the Asiatic kingdoms, that it is not the gentleness and clemency of the sovereign, but his severity and inexorable rigour against all injustice, which are cited as the proofs and measure of the goodness of his government. When we reflect that the power of the king was equally absolute to promote good as to inflict evil, we cannot be surprised at the picture which is presented to us in oriental history of the flourishing condition at certain periods of several of those monarchies.[6] The evil lies in this, that it was left to chance whether a furious tyrant like Nadir-Shah, or an Acbar the Great, should ascend the throne. If it had pleased Providence to afford to mankind an oracle by which the wisest and best individual might always be appointed to the supreme power, even a philosopher need not perhaps have blushed to proclaim himself the partisan of unlimited authority.

This limitation to the exercise of the king's despotic authority, imposed by the very nature of things, was not, however, the only one. The human mind devised in those countries another way of attaining to something like the same end, which has been accomplished in Europe by more direct means. The idea of legislation was not altogether unknown to the kingdoms of the East, but it had its origin in a different source, and was differently modified, from any thing which has existed among the civilized nations of Europe. What was here the effect of philosophy and political science, was there, under the pressure of despotic power, achieved by religion. On religion were raised their rude essays at legislation; the priests were the conservators and expositors of such laws; and it was religion which furnished the motives for obedience.

The ideas of legislation and religion are consequently inseparably connected in the East; but it is obvious that a legal system of this kind must necessarily possess a character peculiar to itself. Inasmuch as the laws thus enjoined were not enacted by the nation, nor assured to it any share in the

[6] See the admirable picture given by CHARDIN, iii. p. 368. The cupidity of the satraps of the East, and their inferiors, causes the effects of a rigid or indolent administration of justice on the part of the monarch to be inconceivably rapid and striking. A mere change of sovereign, by which an infant is placed on the throne, suffices, in a few years, to convert into deserts the most fertile provinces. FORSTER'S *Travels*, p. 150.

legislative prerogative, they were incapable of securing the rights of the people: one description of men alone, the priestly caste, assumed an attitude more independent of the monarch, nor has any legislator of the East ever conceived the idea of a limited monarchy like those of Europe. None of them ever ventured to attack the persuasion, that the lives and fortunes of the subject were at the disposal of the monarch, and so to convert the subject into a citizen. We are thus led to make the following general observations:

In the first place, the legislative systems of the East were designed to soften the rudeness of the nation, by placing a restraint on the prevailing vices, and therefore enforcing the penalties of crime. Consequently they can only be said to oppose limits to the arbitrary exercise of judicial authority; and it cannot be pretended that they gave occasion to any regular constitution, by which the prerogatives of the ruler and his relations to the governed were defined. Notwithstanding the degree of good which they may have effected, by restraining the arbitrary procedures of the inferior judges, yet the instances of barbarous punishments inflicted by the Asiatic monarchs are so abundant, as to prove that the degree of deference paid to such restraints by the functionary, must have been always dependent on his personal character. Faith is the only principle on which a priesthood can erect their ordinances, and this sanction must necessarily be extremely indeterminate, inasmuch as every thing depends on the individual.

Secondly, as religious and political systems, (the legislative codes of the East have been at all times connected with a religious ceremonial,) making religion to consist less in doctrines than in rites, the observance of which (the more important because it compelled to certain prescribed forms) was looked upon as a religious obligation, early inculcated, and which, as the individual could be induced to fulfil them only by moral motives, gave to the priesthood a great influence in forming the personal character of the king. Such religions necessarily partook of the character of a religious court-ceremonial, and at the same time gave to the priesthood a share of authority, by elevating them to the rank of chief ministers of their worship; giving occasion, within their own order, to the establishment of an hierarchy con-

sisting of many gradations of ranks. Such an hierarchy in some degree compensated for the imperfect rights of the nation at large, and the pretended ministers of the deity stood in something like the position of the representatives of the nation.

These general observations are of importance before entering on an account of the constitution and legislative system of the Persians. The different questions respecting the degree of limited or absolute authority enjoyed by the princes of Persia become in this manner more capable of solution, and our way is cleared towards a better perception of the character of the doctrines and laws of Zoroaster, which were the established code of the nation. I have already had occasion in two several places to refer my reader to the present disquisition, which embraces a topic of great interest as regarding a religion which, like that of Mohammed, was disseminated over a large portion of the world, and retained for centuries its predominance. Nor was it in the power of persecution, nor of civil or religious revolutions, effectually to eradicate this creed; the adherents of which preferred exile to apostacy, and sought in the deserts of Kerman and Hindustan places of refuge and toleration for themselves and their sacred records. It is only in our own days that the latter have been rescued from obscurity and presented to Europe; a fact which has mainly contributed to improve and extend our acquaintance with ancient oriental history, and we are enabled to speak with the greater certainty on this subject, as few remains of antiquity have undergone such attentive examination as the books of the Zendavesta. This criticism has, however, turned out to their advantage: the genuineness of the principal compositions, particularly the Vendidat and Izeshre, as religious books of the ancient Persians, has been demonstrated; and we may consider as completely ascertained all that regards the rank of each book of the Zendavesta.[7]

[7] A foreigner had the honour of first presenting the *Zendavesta* to the nations of Europe, but the German literati were the first to examine it critically. The superficial remarks of some Englishmen are as far from satisfactory, as the disquisitions of Anquetil, who on many points of importance has struck into an erroneous path. The researches of Kleuker, and still more those of Rhode, have placed this obscure subject in the proper light. The latter, in his excellent introduction, shows what we must understand by the authen-

With respect, however, to another question, which also demands a previous inquiry, the age in which Zoroaster first appeared as a religious reformer, and the reign in which he flourished, opinions continue to be divided. Did he promulgate his laws in the time of the Persian, or rather of the Median empire? or at a period of still more remote antiquity? Was his religion first addressed to the Persians, or was it only adopted by them? It is easy to perceive that these inquiries are of the highest interest, not only for the antiquarian in general, but in particular for the student of Persian history.

It is the almost universal opinion, promulgated by Hyde,[8] and defended by the editor of the Zendavesta,[9] that the prophet was contemporary with Darius Hystaspis, and that consequently his laws were promulgated under the empire of the Persians; while another hypothesis carries them back to the dynasty of the Medes, and the reign of Cyaxares the First; about seventy years before Cyrus.[10] Rhode, however, has laboured to prove that they are considerably more ancient even than this date.

Notwithstanding the general adoption of the first hypothesis, it could hardly have been suggested, had not all the first commentators pursued a wrong course. The chronological data afforded by the later Grecian authors were compared—these were thought to tally with the date of Darius Hystaspis—and it was considered a decided confirmation of this supposition, that the name Hystaspis tallies with that of Gustasp, to whom Zoroaster generally addresses his doctrines. It would surely have been a more natural mode of proceeding, without the assumption of any such hypothesis, to have endeavoured to collect from the writings of Zoroaster himself the place and time of his appearance, and after-

ticity of the *Zendavesta;* namely, that this collection contains either all or most of the compositions which existed before the destruction of the Persian empire by Alexander. He has examined with scrupulous criticism all the books of the collection; but while we admit the general accuracy of his conclusions, we may be allowed to differ on points of detail, as our remarks on the ruins of Persepolis have proved.

[8] HYDE, *De Relig. Veter. Persar.* 303, 312—335.

[9] *Zendavesta* of KLEUKER, Appendix i. 1, etc.; cf. p. 327, etc.

[10] This opinion has been fully developed in the treatise of M. TYCHSEN, *De Religionum Zoroastricarum apud veteres gentes vestigiis;* in *Comment. Soc. Goett.* vol. xi. p. 112, etc.

wards to apply the information so obtained towards supporting or invalidating the very imperfect data afforded by Grecian writers, without allowing too much importance to the name of Gustasp, which was no uncommon appellation or title in the East, and which consequently of itself proves nothing. It may be added that the Persepolitan inscriptions show that Darius did not himself assume this as his proper name.

If this method be adopted, the data of more recent authors neglected, and the Zendavesta studied by itself, the hypothesis referred to must fall to the ground; being indeed utterly destitute of any foundation, except the resemblance of the name Gustasp, and contradicted by the most decisive evidence.[11]

The works of Zoroaster abound in details relating to his own person, as well as the countries and kingdom which were the first scene of his career as a religious reformer. He proves, by the clearest geographical data, that his native country was Northern Media, Azerbijan, or the territory between the rivers Kur, or Cyrus, and the Araxes; both of which empty themselves into the Caspian. Here he first appeared as a legislator and reformer; but soon quitting this district, he passed into the countries east of the Caspian, to Bactra, the residence of king Gustasp, who became his disciple and admirer. The original seat, therefore, of his new religion or doctrine was Bactra, whence (under the protection of Gustasp) it was disseminated over Iran.

The writings of Zoroaster, we thus perceive, lead us to conclude that the kingdom in which he first appeared as a reformer was a Bactrian monarchy. Might not, however, the Persian empire be understood to answer this description, the above-named countries being important provinces of its dominion? and might not Darius Hystaspis have made Bactra, for a time at least, the place of his residence?

Zoroaster has himself so accurately described the extent and partitions of the kingdom in which he lived, that this hypothesis cannot be maintained. The opening of his Ven-

[11] It is to be observed, that reference is here made only to the most ancient parts of the Zendavesta, particularly the *Vendidat* and *Izeshne*, not to the *Boondehesh*, which is a mere commentary, appertaining to the age of the Sassanian princes.

didat contains a catalogue of the provinces and principal cities of that kingdom; and this record, so invaluable to the historian, is so clear and complete as to leave no room for doubt.[12] The chief provinces and places, sixteen in number, are registered according to their oriental appellations, and for the most part are easily to be recognised. We learn hence that, except Azerbijan to the west of the Caspian, all the countries east of the same, as far as Northern Hindustan, were, together with the latter country, subject to king Gustasp, at whose court the sage resided. The whole of Khorasan is here enumerated, with the several provinces of which it is composed. Bactriana and Sogdiana, Aria or Sehestan, Cabul, Arokhage, the confines of Hindustan, and finally, Lahore in the Panjab, are all successively mentioned. Nothing, however, is said of the two chief provinces of the Persian empire, Persis and Susiana, nor of their capitals, Persepolis and Susa, nor of Babylon; which, nevertheless, were the customary residences of the kings of Persia, and, in particular, of Darius Hystaspis. Can it, then, be supposed that it was under this king that Zoroaster lived, and that his laws were digested for his dominions? Is it to be imagined that, in a catalogue of all the principal cities and provinces of his patron's empire, he should have omitted to mention the very chiefest of all, living as he did at the court of the monarch? To make Zoroaster contemporary with Darius Hystaspis is not only to vitiate all historical probability, but to make Zoroaster contradict himself.

What, however, must we say to the chronological notices of the Greeks, which place him in this era? Supposing them to have been much more authentic than they are, they cannot be admitted as destructive of undeniable data, drawn from the writings of Zoroaster himself: the genuineness of the latter having been once established. The contrary, however, is the fact: it is only in the third, fourth, and following centuries that any authors speak of Zoroaster as living in the reign of Darius Hystaspis; while no trace of any such assertion is to be discovered in the remains of writers contemporary with that monarch, who alone would

[12] *Zendavesta*, ii. 299.

be competent witnesses of the truth. Neither Herodotus, Ctesias, nor Xenophon, who make such frequent mention of the Magi, and the former of whom relates their unsuccessful attempt to regain their power in the person of the pretended Smerdis, as well as the reign of Darius which followed, none of these historians say a word of Zoroaster, who is supposed to have appeared at that time. Even Plato, the first Grecian writer who mentions Zoroaster, speaks of him as a sage of remote antiquity; and the same is established by the evidence of Hermippus and Eudoxus, which Pliny has preserved.[13]

We may therefore assume it as proved, that the reformation effected by Zoroaster took place, not in the time of Darius Hystaspis, but antecedently to the commencement of the Persian dynasty. What then was the date of its occurrence? a question perfectly distinct from that which we have been considering, and much more difficult to answer. From Zoroaster himself we can only learn that it took place during the Bactro-Median empire, under a king named Gustasp, of the dynasty of the Keanides.[14] By a comparison of different authorities it has been thought probable that this monarch was the same with the Median king Cyaxares the First, who, according to Herodotus, reigned about a hundred years before Darius Hystaspis.[15] Of the two hypotheses alleged, the latter is undoubtedly the more plausible, but even this is open to many objections.[16] The kingdom in which Gustasp is described as reigning, and in which Zoroaster appeared, was not Media, properly so called, but Bactriana. The very name of Medes and Persians, as distinct nations, are not even mentioned; the nation subject to the monarch in question, is styled the people of Ormuzd. It cannot even be shown that Media was among

[13] Consult a collection and critical statement of the accounts given by different Grecian authors of Zoroaster, KLEUKER'S *Anhang zum Zendavesta*, ii. iii. p. 90: besides the proofs alleged and examined with great ability by my friend M. TYCHSEN, in his treatise already referred to.

[14] *Zendavesta*, ii. p. 142.

[15] This hypothesis was first proposed by FOUCHER, who, however, adopted the idea that there were two Zoroasters. His treatises are translated in the *Anhang zum Zendavesta*, i. ii. p. 51, etc. The second Zoroaster, supposed by Foucher to have flourished under Darius Hystaspis, is the mere figment of some later Grecian authors of little credit.

[16] See the disquisition of RHODE, *Heilige Sage*, p. 152, etc., who makes Zoroaster anterior to the Assyrian monarchy.

his tributary kingdoms, and it is certain that it was not the principal kingdom, the seat of the empire. On the whole, we are compelled to carry back Zoroaster to the period when Bactriana was an independent monarchy, a period anterior to the very commencement of the Median empire, as related by Herodotus, ascending beyond the eighth century before the Christian era. Whether we must refer him to a still more ancient epoch, prior to the Assyrian monarchy, (as is the opinion of Rhode,) must remain a question, as we have no certain knowledge whether Bactriana formed a part of the empire of the Assyrians, or whether it constituted a contemporary and independent kingdom. The chronological notices we have already given are all that can be afforded, except we be prepared to transport the sage beyond the utmost limits of recorded history.

These preliminary observations were indispensable to the solution of the two questions with which, on the present occasion, we are chiefly concerned, namely, what was the religion of Zoroaster under the Medes, and what under the Persian dynasty?

It is not without anxiety that I prepare to answer these queries, not only on account of the difficulties with which they are encumbered, but because I feel how hard it is to transport my reader to a point of view which may enable him (and which alone can do so) to view this system of laws in its true light and proportions. Zoroaster made his appearance in the heart of Asia, among a people whose constitution, religion, and manners are completely different from our own. His doctrines, however, like those of every reformer, were occasioned by present circumstances, and adapted to the times in which he flourished; and consequently, we form a just estimate of his character only by contemplating him with a reference to his age. We must forget that we are Europeans, and, together with our more advanced knowledge, lay aside our prejudices also. It is no objection to his laws, that they contain much that is strange, or even absurd, nay, this very circumstance rather confirms their authenticity, being precisely what was to be expected in a legislative system belonging to so remote an age and country.

In several parts of his writings, Zoroaster speaks of him-

self as a subject of one of those great despotic governments, which have always abounded in Asia,[17] and consequently was more sensible than a European can be, of the advantages and evils which attend such a form of government in a civilized country. He could not be blind to the beneficial effects of agriculture, and the other peaceful arts, which flourish only under the shelter of civil society, and his sense of these advantages must have been heightened by the contrast of the lawless and wandering hordes by which his country was overrun. The evils, also, which generally attend despotic governments, must have been no less strikingly presented to his observation: the intolerable oppression of satraps and their subalterns; luxury and debauchery, with the maladies and physical afflictions of another kind, which he himself enumerates and bewails,[18] had so generally crept in, as to excite in him the desire to restore by his religious reform more fortunate and better days.

The picture which an Asiatic forms to himself of such happier days, is different from that which a European would conceive. Bowed down from his youth beneath the yoke of absolute authority, he does not presume to emancipate himself, even in idea; but takes another way of compensating his present grievances. He pictures to himself a despotic government in the hands, not of a tyrant, but a father of his people; under which every class of men and every individual might have his appropriate sphere of action, to which he confined himself, and the duties of which he fulfilled; under whom the peaceful arts of agriculture, tending of flocks, and commerce, were supposed to flourish, riches to increase and abound, as if the hands of the monarch, like those of a divinity, showered blessings on his people.

Such a government and such a sovereign are recorded in the Cyropædia itself; and their image has survived through all the periods of Asiatic history, still continuing to form, as it were, the central point of oriental tradition, and vividly impressed on the code of Zoroaster. According to that sage, the era of Jemshid, the ancient sovereign of Iran,[19]

[17] See the first Fargards of the Vendidat, *Zendavesta*, ii. 300, etc., and the books of Yesht-Sades and Izeshne *passim*.

[18] *Zendavesta*, i. p. 78, 118, etc.

[19] Iran, the oriental name for the countries of higher Asia, as far as the

was the golden age of his country. "Jemshid the father of his people, the most glorious of mortals whom the sun ever beheld. In his days animals perished not: there was no want either of water,[20] or of fruit-bearing trees, or of animals fit for the food of mankind. During the light of his reign there was neither frost nor burning heat, nor death, nor unbridled passions, the work of the Deevs. Man appeared to retain the age of fifteen;[21] the children grew up in safety, as long as Jemshid reigned, the father of his people."[22]

The restoration of such a golden age was the end of the legislation of Zoroaster, who, however, built his code on a religious foundation, agreeably to the practice of the East; and the multifarious ceremonies he prescribed had all reference to certain doctrines intimately associated with his political dogmata; and it is absolutely necessary to bear in mind this alliance, if we would not do injustice to one part or other of his system.

The philosophical system of Zoroaster set out with those speculations with which philosophy, in the infancy of nations, is apt to commence her career, being impelled thereto in the most lively and powerful manner, namely, with discussions respecting the origin of evil, which in so many forms oppresses human nature. It is indifferent to us, whether he was himself the first propounder of the doctrines he maintained on this subject, or whether he borrowed them from more ancient traditions of the East. It is sufficient that in this respect he assumed such high ground that

Indus, and also applied to the country in which Zoroaster resided. In the language of Zend it is called Eriene. See above, p. 88.

[20] As the fertility of the soil depended in those countries on a plentiful supply of water, the latter circumstance is perpetually mentioned by Zoroaster as denoting the former.

[21] That is to say, they enjoyed a perpetual youth. In those warm countries the age of puberty is accelerated.

[22] *Zendavesta*, i. 14. Jemshid is generally described as the founder of civil society, by introducing the art of agriculture. See the beautiful mythus in the Vendidat, *Zendav.* ii. 304. A recent author has made it appear probable that the above name conceals the Achæmenes of the Greeks, the reputed head of the royal family of Cyrus. See WAHL, *Allgemeine Beschreib. des Persischen Reichs*, p. 209. I confess that this hypothesis appears to me extremely probable. Besides the similarity of the names, which will be immediately recognised if we take away the Greek termination *enes*, and the Persian *shid;* it is perfectly in harmony with the practice of the Orientals, that the more recent dynasty of the descendants of Cyrus should seek to ingraft their genealogy on the ancient Median stock which sprang from Jemshid.

all obscurity which involved the subject seemed to disappear, as long as no clouds of metaphysics obscured the horizon. The doctrine of a good and evil principle, the sources of all good and ill, is the foundation-stone of the whole structure, both of his religious and political philosophy.

This leading idea was, however, modified by the character which its author assumed of a legislator. He asserted the existence of a kingdom of light, and a kingdom of darkness: in the former reigns Ormuzd, the author and giver of all good; in the latter, Ahriman, the source of all evil, moral as well as physical. The throne of Ormuzd is surrounded by the seven Amshaspands, the princes of light, of whom the sage himself was the first. Subordinate to these are the Izeds, the genii of good, of whatever kind. The kingdom of darkness subject to Ahriman, contains the same sort of hierarchy; his throne being surrounded by the seven superior Deevs, the princes of evil, while an infinite number of inferior Deevs are subordinate to the former, as the Izeds to the Amshaspands. The kingdoms of Ormuzd and Ahriman are eternally opposed to each other, but at a future period Ahriman shall be overthrown, and the powers of darkness destroyed; the dominion of Ormuzd shall become universal, and the kingdom of light alone shall subsist and embrace the universe.[23]

It is apparent that this ideal system was copied from the constitutions of the oriental monarchies, and conversely, the forms of the first were applied to the latter: the whole being obviously adapted to the place and circumstances of time in which the legislator appeared. He lived in a country situated on the borders of the nomad tribes,[24] where he had opportunities of comparing the advantages of civil society with the striking contrast presented by the wandering and lawless hordes, which incessantly laid waste his native land. He beheld, as it were, his kingdoms of light and of darkness realized on the earth: Iran, the Medo-Bactrian kingdom, subject to Gustasp, being the image of the kingdom of Ormuzd, and the monarch, of Ormuzd himself; while Turan, the land of the nomad nations to the north, of which Afrasiab was king, was the picture of the kingdom of darkness

[23] *Zendavesta*, i. p. 4, etc.

[24] See above, p. 11, 12.

under the rule of Ahriman. The leading ideas, originally distinct, have been so intimately mixed up together, that if not absolutely confounded, at all events many of the subordinate images have been transferred from one to the other. For instance, as Turan lay to the north of Iran, the kingdom of Ahriman is made to occupy the same relative position; thence descend the Deevs, which at all times inflict infinite mischiefs on Iran. As the inhabitants of Turan led a lawless, unsettled life, causing continual mischief by their incursions, so the Deevs wander in all directions from their abodes in the north, and seek occasions of inflicting mischief every where. Nevertheless, as Ahriman shall eventually be overcome, and his kingdom annihilated, so shall the power of the chiefs of the Turanians be broken; the laws of Zoroaster prevail, and the golden age of Jemshid return.[25]

Such are the principal ideas on which the system of Zoroaster turns. He did not, however, confine himself to generalities, but applied his principles to the different species of created beings. All that exists appertains either to the kingdom of Ormuzd or to that of Ahriman, whether rational or irrational, animate or inanimate. There are pure men, pure animals, pure vegetables; (all these the creation of Ormuzd;) and again, there are impure men, impure animals, impure vegetables, subject to the dominion of the Deevs, and appertaining to the kingdom of Ahriman.

All men are accounted impure, *(kharfasters,)* who by thought, word, or deed despise the laws of Zoroaster; all poisonous and pernicious animals or reptiles, (which in the countries bordering on Media are much more abundant and formidable than in Europe,) with all plants and vegetables possessing the same qualities. On the other hand, in the country where the law of Zoroaster is revered, every thing is pure, every thing is holy: so that his precepts extend their influence not only over the human race, but even to the brute and inanimate creation. It is the duty of the servant of Ormuzd (Mazdryesnan) to foster every thing in nature which is pure and holy, as all such things are the creations of Ormuzd, at the same time that the enmity he

[25] *Zendavesta*, i. p. 116, 160.

has vowed against Ahriman and his creation, make it incumbent on him to attack and destroy all impure animals. On these principles Zoroaster built his laws for the improvement of the soil by means of agriculture, by tending of cattle, and gardening, which he perpetually inculcates, as if he could not sufficiently impress his disciples with a sense of their importance.[26]

In the internal organization of his kingdom, Zoroaster continued faithfully to copy the character peculiar to the despotic governments of the East. The whole system reposed on a four-fold division of castes: that of the priests, the warriors, the agriculturists, and the artificers of whatever denomination.[27] This is the order in which they are enumerated, but the legislator omits no opportunity of elevating and dignifying that of the agriculturists. These extract plenty from the earth; their hands wield the blade of Jemshid with which he clove the ground, and drew forth the treasures of abundance.[28] It is to be observed, however, that this division into castes is not described as an institution of Zoroaster, but as having existed from the era of Jemshid; an institution which the legislator did not originate, but merely maintained.

The gradation of ranks is conformable to the hierarchy of the kingdom of Ormuzd. We hear of rulers of petty towns, rulers of streets, (or portions of cities,) rulers of cities, and rulers of provinces; the head of all these potentates being the king. All, as subjects of Ormuzd, are supposed good and upright, especially the highest of all, the monarch. He is the soul of all, on whom all depend, and around whom the whole system revolves. His commands are absolute and irrevocable, but the religion of Ormuzd forbids him to ordain any thing but what is just and good.[29]

These are the principal characteristics of the kingdom sketched by Zoroaster; the picture of a despotic government on the principles of the customs of the East. To this he added precepts calculated to advance the moral improvement of his people; nor did it escape his observation, that on the habits of the nation, and in particular on their domestic virtues, must be founded its public constitution.

[26] *Zendavesta*, i. p. 16, etc.
[27] Ibid. i. p. 141.
[28] Ibid. ii. p. 305.
[29] Ibid. i. 72, etc.

Hence his laws for the furtherance of marriage, his praises of fruitfulness in women, and his condemnation of the unnatural vices which abounded in the countries where he dwelt.[30] He did not, however, venture to proclaim himself a patron of monogamy, either because he himself had not been convinced of its expediency, or because his countrymen were too firmly attached to their existing practices.

The conservation of his ordinances was intrusted to the priestly caste, the Magians,[31] who, under the Medes, formed one of their original tribes, to whom was committed the preservation of such sciences as were known among them, and the performance of the offices of public devotion. Herodotus expressly names them as a distinct tribe of the Medes,[32] and this arrangement, peculiar to the East, with which the Jewish annals have made us familiar, is further illustrated by the observations already offered respecting the priest-caste of the Egyptians. The reform of Zoroaster also addressed itself to these. According to his own professions, he was only the restorer of the doctrine which Ormuzd himself had promulgated in the days of Jemshid: this doctrine, however, had been misrepresented, a false and delusive Magia, the work of Deevs, had crept in, which was first to be extinguished in order to restore the pure laws of Ormuzd.[33] He composed the first and best of his treatises, the Vendidat, at a period when his doctrines had only begun to obtain the ascendency, and when the false Magians, the worshippers of the Deevs, withstood him; hence the maledictions which he continually heaps upon them.[34] We know from history that in the end his reformation triumphed, though we are not enabled to trace its progress in detail.

Zoroaster, therefore, must not be considered as the founder, but only the reformer of the caste of Magians, and to him must therefore be ascribed the internal constitution of this caste, though it may have subsequently received some further development. The three orders of Herbeds (disciples), Mobeds (masters), and Destur Mobeds (complete masters), into which they were divided, occur in his

[30] See the precepts of the Vendidat, *Fargard*, v.—xix.

[31] The name of Magian is derived from the Pehlvi dialect: *Mag* and *Mog* in this language signifying a priest. *Zendavesta*, *Anhang* iii. p. 17.

[32] HEROD. i. 101. [33] *Zendavesta*, i. p. 43. [34] Ibid. ii. 171, etc.

works.[35] They alone were entitled to perform the offices of religion, they alone possessed the sacred formularies or liturgies by which Ormuzd was to be addressed, and were acquainted with the ceremonies by which the offering of prayers and sacrifice was to be accompanied. This was their peculiar knowledge and their study, and it was only by them that prayers and sacrifice could be presented to the deity.[36] In this manner they came to be considered the only interlocutors between God and man; it was to them alone that Ormuzd revealed his will, they alone contemplated the future, and had the power of revealing it to such as inquired into it through them.

On these foundations was reared, both among the Persians and the Medes, the dignity of the priestly caste. The general belief in predictions, especially as derived from observation of the heavenly bodies, and the custom of undertaking no enterprise of moment without consulting those who were supposed acquainted with such oracles, as well as the blind confidence reposed in such pretenders, all conspired to give this class of men the highest influence, not only in the relations of private life, but also over public undertakings. In the days of Zoroaster, as at present, it was esteemed necessary to the dignity as well as the exigencies of an Asiatic court, that the person of the king should be surrounded by a multitude of soothsayers, wise men, and priests, who formed a part of his council. The origin of this persuasion, which has so universally and invariably prevailed in the East, may be left for others to discuss; but the extraordinary influence which it has exercised over the manners of private life and the constitution of the state at large, deserves the closest attention of every one who interests himself in the history of nations and their manners.

If we take these things into the account, and assume it as proved that Zoroaster flourished under the Median dynasty, we cannot be surprised by the fact, that on the downfal of that monarchy its hereditary religion was adopted by the conquerors. Supposing (what I am not prepared either to assert or deny) that up to that period these doctrines were unknown to the Persians, yet from the nature of

[35] *Zendavesta*, ii. 261. [36] HEROD. i. 132.

things, their reception was an almost necessary consequence of a fact which is indisputable, the adoption by the Persian monarchs of the court-ceremonial of the Medes. The latter had been defined and prescribed by the mixed political and religious code of that nation, and was inseparable from the authority on which it rested. The Magians and wise men formed the most dignified portion of the court; they surrounded the king's person, and were indispensable to him as soothsayers and diviners. They were distinguished also by their dress; their girdle (costi), which was not passed over the shoulder like the cord of the Brahmans in the manner of a scarf; the sacred cup *havan*, used for libations; and the *barsom*, a bundle of twigs held together by a band.[37] Besides, the question was not whether a new religion should be adopted by the mass of the people, (the doctrines of Zoroaster being the exclusive inheritance and science of the priest-caste,) but only respecting the observance of certain religious forms and modes of worship which were left for the priests to administer.

The above observations will, I trust, enable us to reply with somewhat greater accuracy to the second question, respecting the time when the doctrines of Zoroaster were adopted by the Persians, the extent to which they were received, and the influence they had on the national constitution.

It is certain from history that the Median priest-caste became established among the Persians as early as the foundation of their monarchy by Cyrus. Not only do Herodotus and Ctesias describe them as an order of priests under the first Persian princes,[38] but the express testimony of Xenophon in the Cyropædia leaves no further question, possessing as it does an historical value from an observation appended by the author. Having described the etiquette of the Persian court as copied from that of the Medes, he adds: "Cyrus also first appointed the Magi to chaunt

[37] I should be disposed to consider the fan, already mentioned, p. 114, and borne, together with an umbrella, by an attendant on the person of the king, as the sacred instrument called *barsom*, if it were carried by the monarch himself, and not (as is the case) by an inferior. If, after all, it be the *barsom*, it must be understood as denoting the priestly authority, as the umbrella does the secular. For the sacred utensils of the Magi, see *Zendavesta*, iii. 204.

[38] In his account of the usurpation of the pretended Smerdis.

sacred hymns at the rising of the sun, (the Ha's,) and to offer daily sacrifices to the deities, to whom it was enjoined by their law. This state of things continues to be maintained by each successive monarch; and the rest of the Persian nation followed the example of their prince, conceiving that they should in the same way be more likely to prosper, if they worshipped the gods as their monarch did."[39]

Thus the first consequence of their appointment was the introduction of a certain religious ceremonial in the court of Persia. It by no means, however, follows from this that the Persians at once laid aside the manners and customs of their forefathers, and, as it were, suddenly became converted into Medes; but rather, that a mixture and union of their ancient and newly-adopted opinions and customs took place. The laws of the Persians, in consequence, came to be cited in connexion with those of the Medes; their national deities were still reverenced as before;[40] and in his time Herodotus remarks certain diversities observable in the ceremonies of the Persians as compared with those of the Magians.[41] We must not therefore be surprised at not finding a complete correspondence between the precepts of the Zendavesta and the customs of the Persians; on the contrary, this very diversity is one mark of the genuineness of that composition.

Nor are we authorized to conclude from the expressions of Xenophon that the whole Persian nation at once adopted the Magian religion. This appears to be sufficiently contradicted by the totally different way of life of the various Persian tribes; besides, as we have already had occasion to remark,[42] and shall presently see confirmed, by the Persians Xenophon means the nobler tribes, and possibly only that of the Pasargadæ. Far less are we entitled to suppose that the creed of Zoroaster was at once introduced in the conquered countries as the universal religion of the state; for although strongly marked by the character of intolerance, this religion appears never, like that of Mohammed, to have

[39] XENOPH. *Cyrop.* viii. *Op.* p. 204.

[40] He frequently names the θεοὶ πατρῷοι: see the places collected by BRISSON, *de Reg. Persar. imperio*, p. 347.

[41] For instance, in their treatment of the dead, which the Magi, previous to interment, suffered to be torn by a dog or bird of prey. HEROD. i. 140.

[42] See above, p. 214.

been propagated by fire and sword: its author was himself neither a conqueror nor a warrior, nor did the princes who embraced it esteem it a duty to provide for its dissemination by the power of the sword.

It is much nearer to the truth to suppose that the reception of this religion was at first confined to the court, of which the caste of Magi, as priests, as soothsayers, and as councillors of the king, formed an important part, and next to the wives and eunuchs of the monarch, had nearest access to his person. It was a principal part of the education of the monarch to be instructed in the lore of the Magi,[43] a privilege communicated to very few personages besides, and those highly favoured.[44] This doctrine of the Magi, mixed up with the hereditary opinions of the Persians, was designated as the law of the Medes and Persians, and embraced a knowledge of all the sacred customs, precepts, and usages which concerned, not only the worship of the deity, but the whole private life of every worshipper of Ormuzd, respecting the duties which he was bound to perform, and the penalties which he would incur by transgressing them. In proportion as the ritual prescribed was extensive and multifarious, so was it open to cases of doubtful interpretation, when the counsel of the Magi was needed, and consequently was not neglected. From a comparison of several passages, it appears probable that they composed the council of the king's judges, of which mention is made as early as the time of Cambyses.[45] The very notion of a religious legislation, such as we have described, implies that the priests should be also judges, and the individual cases which have been recorded as brought before this tribunal appear to fortify such a conjecture. This court of judicature consisted of men distinguished for their wisdom no less than their justice, possessing their places for life, unless proved guilty of some act of injustice. When this happened, they were punished not only with strictness, but with a cruelty such as despotism alone can either devise or execute.[46] Examples, how-

[43] *Cic. de Divin.* i. 23, and other passages in BRISSON, p. 384.

[44] As, for instance, to Themistocles during his residence at the Persian court. PLUTARCH. in *Themist. Op.* i. p. 126.

[45] Compare ESTHER, i. 13, with HEROD. iii. 31; vii. 194. The other places which bear on this point are to be found in BRISSON, p. 189.

[46] In this manner Darius caused one of them to be crucified, but on dis-

ever, are not wanting to prove that although it was esteemed a duty by the monarch to take the opinion of this council, yet he was by no means necessarily bound to abide by their sentence. Cambyses demanded whether it was lawful for him to marry his sister, and the council, knowing that it was his purpose to do so, replied that there was no law which permitted it, but that there did exist a law which made it allowable for the king of the Persians to do what seemed him good.[47] Notwithstanding, therefore, the apparent limitation set to the royal authority by the separation of the judicial power from the administrative,[48] the answer of this high tribunal makes it plain that the authority of the kings of Persia was as unlimited as that of any other oriental despot at any period.

In like manner, the idea which has been adopted by several eminent modern authors, that the Persian constitution was modelled after the hierarchy of the kingdom of Ormuzd, appears, at all events, to require strong limitations. Appeal is continually made to the seven princes who stood about the throne of the king, in like manner as the Amshaspands surrounded the throne of Ormuzd; as well as to other less striking analogies.[49] But, at the most, this analogy applied only to the economy of the court, and did not extend to the kingdom at large: of the former the Magi composed an important part, and it is very possible that this may have influenced the character of the whole. When, however, we come to compare the picture which Zoroaster has sketched of the constitution of the kingdom in which he

covering that he had benefited more than he had injured the royal house, he commanded him to be taken down from the cross. Cambyses commanded another to be flayed alive; and his skin spread over the judgment-seat on which his son and successor was to sit. HEROD. vii. 194. For a similar example of modern Persian justice, see MORIER, ii. 103.

[47] HEROD. iii. 31.

[48] The want of such a separation has been often felt in the East. In the Turkish empire, as in the Persian, the cadi, or judge, is not subject to the pasha; but as all criminal jurisdiction, as well as that of the police, is nevertheless in the hands of the ruler and his officers, little good is effected by a nominal separation.

[49] The number seven is continually found in all the public institutions of the Persians, where a plurality of persons were required, and accordingly would appear to have been long esteemed by them a sacred number. Something similar is to be remarked in the cases of some other Asiatic races, for instance, the Mongols, who esteem the number nine to be holy. PALLAS, i. 198.

lived with that of Persia, we remark similarities which exist in all great despotic governments: a prince, whose mandates are irrevocable, a division of the empire into provinces, and a departmental administration by satraps; while we discover at the same time some striking dissimilitudes. The general distinction of castes, on which the legislative system of Zoroaster is founded, was never completely established among the Persians, although the foundation of such a system was laid in the diversity of occupations and modes of life pursued by the different tribes. We find among them the tribes of nobles or warriors, and of agriculturists, but none of artisans, which indeed could hardly exist among a race of conquerors; nor is it certain that in the cases of the former their occupations were necessarily restricted to individuals of that tribe.

If we take into account these and some minor differences, which have been already touched upon by others, between the law of Zoroaster and the institutions of the Persians, we shall see in them a confirmation of the remark that Zoroaster was not contemporary with the Persian monarchy, but that his doctrines were received at the same time with the order of priests, to whom they were committed, without being adopted by the nation at large or literally complied with by all.

The further information which has been preserved to us respecting the court and household of the Persian monarch, I would fain compress in some general remarks relative to the information afforded by Xenophon in the eighth book of the Cyropædia, which has all the weight of historical testimony, in consequence of the repeated assertion of the author, that the same state of things subsisted in his own time.[50]

First. Agreeably to the customs of all the great despotic princes of the East, the court consisted not only of the king's servants, but also of a numerous army, principally cavalry, which surrounded the person of the king, and formed part of his retinue. This body of cavalry was divided into corps of ten-thousands; according to the nations of which it was composed.[51] The most distinguished were the Persians;

[50] XENOPH. *Cyrop. Op.* p. 202—216.

[51] XENOPH. loc cit. p. 215. Next to the Persians came the Medes, then the Armenians, the Hyrcanians, the Cadusians, and the Sacæ.

the rest succeeded in a fixed gradation. To these were attached the numerous body-guards posted at the gates of the palace, of whom we have already had occasion to speak in the description of Persepolis. If we compare with these the descriptions of the household troops of the kings of modern Persia, or the Mongol princes in Hindustan and China, we shall perceive that the court establishment of the monarchs of the East is precisely what it was in the days of Cyrus.[52]

Secondly. It was a natural consequence of the increasing luxury of the Persians, that the number of courtiers should be augmented, when the rule had once been established, that for all, even the most trivial duties, special officers were necessary.[53]

As all these officers were supported free of expense, there were daily fed at the king's table, according to Ctesias, fifteen thousand persons,[54] and Xenophon assures us that a considerable body of men was required only to make the king's bed.[55] These inferior attendants on the court were marshalled in the same manner as the army, and divided into tens and hundreds.[56] Courtiers, however, of a superior rank were also very numerous, distinguished by the general appellations of the friends, the kinsmen, or the servants of the king, titles which under every despotic government are understood to confer a high degree of importance. It is unnecessary to enter largely on particulars respecting them in the present place, as the remarks already made on the remains of Persepolis must have conveyed a distinct idea of their characters.[57]

Lastly. Not only from the analogy which prevails in other courts of the East, but from a comparison of different passages in ancient writers, it appears probable that the household of the Persian monarch was originally composed of the ruling tribe or horde, namely, that of the Pasargadæ, and especially of the family of the Achæmenidæ.[58] For this

[52] CHARDIN, iv. p. 370, etc. BERNIER, *Voyage aux Indes*, ii. p. 218, etc.

[53] XENOPH. loc. cit. p. 209.

[54] CTESIAS, in ATHEN. iv. p. 146. Where are also collected many other details respecting the luxury of the Persian court.

[55] XENOPH. p. 241. [56] Ibid. p. 203.

[57] A number of passages bearing on this point have been collected by BRISSON, p. 279, etc.

[58] This view of the matter receives considerable confirmation from a similar economy prevalent at the present day in the court of Eastern Persia. The

reason the courtiers of superior rank bore the appellation of the king's kinsmen,[59] and almost every page of Persian history proves that every trust of importance was confided, if not to this family, at all events to this tribe. The great body of the inferior attendants of the court was, as Xenophon expressly informs us, gradually filled up with the warlike followers of the king.[60]

The very name Pasargadæ, as we have had occasion to remark, betokens that the household of the court was made up of this race,[61] and though it cannot be ascertained to what extent in the end the other noble tribes were gradually admitted to the same privileges, it is certain that the majority of the court at all times was taken from this. The student of Persian antiquity will, accordingly, find reason to adopt the conjecture, that the Grecian authors in general meant by "the Persians," not the entire nation, but only, or principally, the tribe of the Pasargadæ; and this hypothesis applies (as has been already remarked) with especial propriety to the Cyropædia of Xenophon. The details which he affords us, in the commencement of his work, respecting the education and institutions of the Persians, cannot be referred to the whole nation, but only to the ruling tribe, or the king's household, as is proved by the notices of place which he adjoins. If we adopt this principle of interpretation, the whole picture presents itself under a totally different aspect, and it is no longer necessary to consider it as a romance. It is a description of the education and habits of life which, in compliance with custom, the noblesse of the nation, or the portion of it which composed the household of the king, were obliged to observe; and the very strictness of the discipline prescribed is perfectly in harmony with the customs of oriental courts, where every thing is regulated by an exact ceremonial. Accordingly, it must not be looked upon as an account of the national system of

tribe of the *Doraunis* there stands in exactly the same relation to the king, that the Pasargadæ did to the monarchs of ancient Persia. This tribe is distinguished above all the rest, and furnishes satraps or governors for the provinces. ELPHINSTONE, p. 522, 532. In Western Persia also, the body-guard is described as twelve thousand men strong, taken principally from the tribes allied to the reigning shah. MORIER, i. p. 242.

[59] They were distinguished by peculiar marks of honour, a purple garment, and an ornament of gold. JOS. ANT. *Jud.* xiii. 5, 4.

[60] XENOPH. *Op.* p. 242.

[61] See above, p. 214.

education, nor of the manners of the people at large, but the court-education, and court-ceremonial; and in proportion as these are strict under all despotic and especially under all oriental governments, it becomes necessary to accustom to them from their very youth such as are destined to observe them.[62]

The economy of the harem of the Persian monarchs appears to have been precisely the same with the present customs, in that respect, of the Asiatic nations. It was peopled from the different provinces of the empire, and the surveillance of the whole committed to eunuchs, of whom we find traces, long before the Persian monarchy, in the courts of the Median kings, a consequence of the practice of polygamy. His eunuchs and his wives encircled the person of the monarch, and thus easily attained an influence, which, under a weak monarch who felt himself unable to shake off the yoke, often became a species of protectorship, by which they were enabled to sway the helm of state, and, in the end, to exercise dominion over the throne itself.

The interior of these gynæcea is best described in the narrative of the book of Esther, while the account of a court intrigue in the reign of Xerxes, recorded in the last book of Herodotus, throws great additional light on their history.[63] The harem was divided into two sets of apartments, and the new comers were transferred from the first to the second on having been admitted to the king's chamber.[64] Unbounded luxury, which in the end degenerates into wearisome etiquette, imposes of itself a restraint on the passions of arbitrary despots. It is far from being the case that, at the present day, the sultan of Constantinople can select the object of his desire according to his own pleasure; and Persian etiquette demanded that a whole year should be spent in purification by means of aromatics and costly perfumes, before the noviciate beauty was thought worthy of approach-

[62] That this hypothesis is correct will be apparent to any one who will compare the beginning of the Cyropædia with the eighth book of the same work. Xenophon here expressly declares that the education of the Persian court continued to his own time, but had been much loosened by the luxury which had crept in. *Op.* p. 240. In another place, when the same author puts the whole number of the Persians at one hundred and twenty thousand, (*Op.* p. 7,) it is evident that he can only be speaking of the ruling tribe.

[63] Herod. ix. 110, etc. [64] Esther, ii. 12—14.

ing the presence of the despot.[65] The number of concubines must therefore have been sufficiently great to present a new victim for every day.[66] The passions of hatred and jealousy, which are apt to become intense in proportion as their sphere is limited, attained in the harem of Persia a degree of rancour which our imaginations can hardly picture. When Amestris, the wife of Xerxes, succeeded at last in getting into her power her sister-in-law, whom she suspected as her rival, she caused her to be mutilated in a manner so horrible that I dare not even lay the recital of it before my reader.[67]

The legitimate wives of the king stood, however, on a totally different footing from his concubines; a distinction which prevailed also in the inferior conditions of life.[68] As every thing in the constitution of the country depended on the distinctions of tribe, the consort was chosen from the family of Cyrus, or that of the Achæmenidæ;[69] though the example of Esther appears to prove, that occasionally concubines were elevated to the same rank. In that case they were invested with the insignia of royalty, the diadem and the other regalia.[70] The mode of life, however, of the queen-consort, was no less rigidly prescribed and limited than that of the concubines; and it is mentioned as a remarkable instance, that Statira so far overstepped that burdensome system of etiquette as to appear in public without a veil.[71]

Uncertainty of succession is an inseparable consequence of a harem administration. It is true that illegitimate children were altogether excluded from inheriting by the customs of Persia;[72] but the intrigues of their mothers, and the treachery of eunuchs, with the help of poison, often prepared the way for them to the throne.[73] Of legitimate sons the rule was, that the eldest should inherit, especially if he

[65] ESTHER, and elsewhere. Each was brought only once into the king's presence, except he should expressly command them to be presented again.

[66] Darius Hystaspis had three hundred and sixty concubines: a number proportioned to that of the days of the year, according to the computation of the Persians. DIOD. ii. p. 220. Many other details relative to the economy of the Persian harem may be found in BRISSON, p. 163, etc.

[67] HEROD. loc. cit. [68] Ibid. i. 135.

[69] Ibid. iii. 88. CTESIAS, *Pers.* cap. 20.

[70] See the passages collected by BRISSON, p. 158, etc.

[71] PLUTARCH. in ARTAXERXE, *Op.* i. p. 1013. [72] HEROD. iii. 2.

[73] As in the cases of Darius Nothus, and Darius Codomannus. Cf. CTESIAS, 44; ARRIAN, ii. 14.

was born when his father was king.[74] The selection was, however, left to the monarch, and as his decisions were commonly influenced by his queen, the power of the queen-mother became still more considerable among the Persians than among the Turks. As the education of the heir to the crown was mainly intrusted to his mother, she did not fail early to instil a spirit of dependence on her wishes, from which the future king was rarely able to emancipate himself. The narratives of Herodotus and Ctesias respecting the tyrannical influence exercised by Parysatis, Amestris, and others, bear ample testimony to the fact.

Another necessary consequence of such a system is the insignificance of any thing which could be properly called a council of state. Affairs of public importance are discussed in the interior of the seraglio, under the influence of the queen-mother, the favourite wife, and the eunuchs.[75] It was only on occasions of some great expeditions being meditated, or the like, that councils were held for any length of time, to which the satraps, the tributary princes, and the commanders of the forces were invited.[76] The principal question was, however, for the most part already settled, and the debate respected only the means of carrying it into execution. Even in this point, however, the despotic character of the government manifested itself; since he who gave any advice, was obliged to answer for its issue; and in case of ill success, the penalty fell on his own head.

All the other circumstances of the king's private life bore traces of the original condition of the race, and presented the picture of a nomad state of existence carried to the highest excess of luxury. Even after these monarchs had occupied permanent residences, the signs of this did not altogether disappear, especially in their annual migrations from

[74] HEROD. vii. 2. In Persia, as in all other despotic countries, every change of reign was generally stained with blood. Such as were suspected of aspiring to the crown were either put to death or had their eyes put out, (HEROD. vii. 18,) which latter custom has descended to later periods of Persian history. CHARDIN, ii. 89, 90; iii. 297. The same uncertainty respecting the succession to the throne prevails also among the Mongols; see *Hist. Geneal. des Tartares*, p. 342, 381; and compare LA CROIX, *Hist. de Genghiskhan*, 350, etc.

[75] CTESIAS, *Pers.* 8, 10, 39, etc. The same system prevails in modern Persia, see CHARDIN, iii. p. 296.

[76] HEROD. vii. 8; viii. 67; cf. BRISSON, p. 49.

one abode to another, at fixed seasons of the year. Like the chiefs of nomad hordes, the kings of Persia removed with their household at certain seasons, from one chief city of their empire to another. The three capitals, of Susa, Babylon, and Ecbatana, each enjoyed every year the privilege of being for a certain period the residence of the monarch.[77] The spring was spent at Ecbatana, the three summer months at Susa, the autumn and winter in Babylon. The great diversity of climate in so extensive an empire, (a diversity which for several reasons is still more perceptible in Asia than in Europe,) was the source of enjoyments, which, in our quarter of the globe, we can scarcely appreciate. These removals took place with such a multitude of followers, that the suite of the court resembled an army,[78] and for this reason the poorer provinces were spared a visitation, which would have exposed them to the horrors of famine.[79] A numerous attendance of armed followers constitutes at the present day a permanent part of the household of the great men of the East; and in the cases of their kings these amounted to the numbers of a regular army. The same system is retained unaltered by the rulers of modern Asia, and the accounts of travellers respecting this particular can hardly be read without astonishment.[80]

The traces of the same nomad mode of life may also be detected in the arrangement of the king's palaces and pleasure-houses. These were universally surrounded with spacious parks, or, as the Persians denominated them, paradises; forming domains sufficiently extensive to allow armies to be reviewed in them, or to assemble for the pursuit of game, of which great numbers and in every variety were collected. Such establishments existed, not only in the three capitals already named, but in several other countries of Asia, in

[77] XENOPH. *Cyrop.* viii. *Op.* p. 233. A number of other passages have been collected by BRISSON, p. 88, etc.

[78] We are indebted for an accurate picture of the internal arrangement of the royal household on these occasions to XENOPH. *Cyrop.* viii. *Op.* p. 225.

[79] STRABO makes this observation with respect to Parthia, p. 783, and MORIER observes the same of modern Persia, ii. 274. The king and his suite are the guests of the country through which they make their progress; and the provinces and towns are compelled to supply every necessary.

[80] See especially BERNIER for an account of the progresses of the Great Mongol, *Voyage*, ii. 318, etc.; and CHARDIN, for those of the shahs of modern Persia, iii. p. 393.

which the king was accustomed to spend a part of his time, or in which his satraps resided.[81]

The king's palace was styled among the ancient Persians also, as in modern Constantinople, the Porte.[82] Agreeably to the customs of other despots of the East, the kings of Persia resided in the interior of their palaces, seldom appearing in public, and guarding all means of access to their persons. The crowd of ministers and courtiers were consequently obliged to take their stations, according to their degrees of rank, in the court without, or before the gate or porte of the palace; and respect for the monarch prescribed, especially in his actual presence, a rigid system of etiquette, the discipline of which commenced with the early youth of those who were compelled to observe it.[83] The number of courtiers, masters of ceremonies, guards, and others, was endless. It was through them alone that access could be gained to the monarch; and they were consequently invested with titles which betokened their relation to him, being styled the king's ears, the king's eyes, etc., because no one without permission, or without their intervention, could approach his presence.[84]

The king's table also was regulated by a system of etiquette no less absolute, which, while it aimed at securing the highest enjoyment, necessarily became in the end more burdensome to the despot himself than to his guests.

As lord and owner of the whole empire, it was thought unworthy of him to taste any but the best and most costly productions of his dominions;[85] no water was fit to be drank by him but that of the Choaspes, which accordingly was conveyed in silver vessels on a multitude of waggons wherever he might journey.[86] His very salt was brought

[81] See XENOPH. *Œconom. Op.* p. 8, 29; PLUTARCH. in *Artaxerxe, Op.* ii. p. 1024; and several other passages collected by BRISSON, p. 107, etc. On adopting stationary abodes instead of a nomad life, it is common for the chiefs of such hordes to establish their residences in spots which had been the places of encampment of their tribes, and which are thus gradually converted into great cities. See the volume on the Babylonians.

[82] The expression *αἱ πύλαι* frequently occurs in the *Cyropædia*, see p. 201, and elsewhere.

[83] See above, p. 256; and compare DANIEL, i. 3, etc.

[84] XENOPH. *Cyrop.* loc. cit. Many other places have been collected by BRISSON, p. 264. The same appellations were current also among the Medes, HEROD. i. 114.

[85] ATHEN. p. 652, ex Dinone.

[86] HEROD. i. 188.

from the neighbourhood of the temple of Jupiter Ammon in the centre of the African desert;[87] his wine from Chalybon in Syria;[88] the wheat, of which his bread was made, from Æolia,[89] and so forth. Hence arose the custom, that on his progresses the best of the fruits of each country should be presented to the monarch; and on the testimony of Xenophon, there were bodies of men destined to the sole purpose of searching through his spacious dominions for whatever might add to the luxury of the royal table.[90]

Lastly. Among the pleasures of the court was accounted the chase, which was not only esteemed the highest of all amusements, but a suitable preparation for the toils of war.[91] In the end whole armies were devoted to the pursuit, and such expeditions resembled those occasionally adopted by the monarchs of continental Europe. The Persians were originally a race of hunters as well as shepherds, and one entire tribe among them, the Sagartians, who adhered to their pastoral habits in the time of Herodotus, practised in war the arts of hunting, casting a lasso round the neck of a flying enemy, as of an animal of the chase.[92] In their more advanced stage of civilization, the Persians are still characterized by their fondness for the same pursuits, and the manner in which of old they prosecuted this amusement precisely resembled that adopted by the Mongol princes.[93] A distinction was made between the chase as carried on in the park, and which constituted the favourite recreation of the monarchs and grandees of Persia, and in the open country, which was a nobler species of amusement,[94] and usually pursued in the districts abounding with game of Northern Media and Hyrcania.

III. ADMINISTRATION OF THE PROVINCES. FINANCIAL SYSTEM. SATRAPS.

As our preceding observations have been confined to the court and person of the king, it is now time to extend our regard to the conquered countries and the provinces of the

[87] ATHEN. ii. p. 67. [88] Ibid. i. p. 28. [89] STRABO, xv. p. 1061.
[90] XENOPH. in *Agesil. Op.* p. 671. [91] XENOPH. *Cyrop. Op.* p. 5.
[92] HEROD. vii. 85. [93] Compare BERNIER, loc. cit. [94] XENOPH. *Op.* p. 5, 6.

empire. The division of these, as established in the latter half of the Persian monarchy, has been already discussed in the first chapter: but the question still remains, What was their internal condition, and the nature of their administration? It may be hoped, however, that the reader has already received some information on these heads from the foregoing pages. If we reflect upon the original circumstances of the Persians, we must acknowledge that their ideas on the subjects of administration and finance could not have been very refined; and the primitive condition of the race continued to give a tinge to their institutions, notwithstanding their gradual refinement and the development of their first constitution. The forms of European government and finance could have no place in an empire founded by a nomad people; notwithstanding the difficulty which many authors, of great pretensions to an intimate knowledge of the East, have shown in liberating themselves from their European preconceptions.

"The Persians," says Herodotus, "look upon all Asia as theirs, and as the property of each successive king of Persia."[1] These few words contain the leading idea, on which all the following discussion must be grounded.

A rude people of conquerors naturally look upon the conquered countries, with all they contain, as their own; and Asiatic history presents several instances of such nations, in order to their own peaceable occupation, entirely depopulating their conquered possessions. The Persians did not fail to adopt the same plan, when no other appeared likely to answer the purpose of repressing their vassals;[2] but when their conquests became very extensive this was impracticable, and they were compelled to devise other means of securing their dominion.

We have already explained how and when these institutions were first adopted.[3] The conquered nations were compelled to pay a tribute, at first arbitrarily imposed, but under Darius reduced to an annual and regular tax, of which Herodotus has given us a full statement.[4]

[1] HEROD. ix. 116.

[2] Compare the conduct of the Persians on the conquest of Ionia. HEROD. vi. 32.

[3] See above, p. 218, 219.

[4] HEROD. iii. 20, etc.

Important as this document is, it has nevertheless given occasion to many misapprehensions. The tribute in money has been treated as the only, or, at all events, the principal revenue which the monarch derived from his empire; and (with the customs of Europe before their eyes) authors have imagined the existence of a public exchequer, out of which the expenses of the state were paid, the armies maintained, and the public officers remunerated, etc.[5] Such a mode of proceeding was, however, utterly unknown in the East. The Persian public officers received no appointments in the European sense of the word; the tribute in question furnished nothing more than the private revenue of the king, and, besides his own expenses, was applied to no public purposes whatever, unless, perhaps, to that of conferring presents.

As the end of a financial system adopted by a nation of conquerors must be different from that of all others, so also must the internal regulations belonging to such a system.

The end in question is no other than that of obliging the conquered nations (whose land is esteemed the property of the conquerors) to pay for every thing, and provide for the maintenance of the king, the court, and, in some sense, of all the nation.

Herodotus tells us that, independently of the tribute, the whole Persian empire was divided into portions for the support of the king and his army, or his suite; each district being obliged to provide for a certain period.[6] In consequence of this arrangement the payments from the provinces were principally made in the fruits and natural productions of the earth; exacted with a reference to the fertility of each soil, and its natural advantages. The best of every country was considered as the property of the king, and was delivered to him by the rulers of the provinces;[7] and as by these

[5] Even a recent author who designs to give an account of the statistics of Persia adheres to this opinion. How else could he argue against the veracity of Herodotus from the fact that the treasury of Xerxes would be inadequate to maintain his forces? WAHL, *Geschichte Pers. Einleit.* p. 12.

[6] HEROD. i. 192.

[7] XENOPH. *Op.* p. 202; compare STRABO, p. 1086. The payments in money appear to have been usually collected from the maritime states, while those in kind were made from the provinces of the interior. In this way Media alone contributed annually one hundred thousand sheep, four thousand horses, etc.; and the same is related of Cilicia, Armenia, and other countries. Cf. STRABO, p. 797; HEROD. iii. 90; XENOPH. *Anab. Op.* p. 333.

means provisions of all sorts were accumulated at the royal residence from every quarter of the empire, there necessarily reigned there an abundance and luxury which corrupted the morals of the court, and introduced those habits of waste and sensuality for which the Persians were so notorious.

Not only, however, was the king's court to be maintained, but also those of the satraps of each province, which were modelled on that of their master: their suite was often no less numerous, and they kept up a state which often exceeded their income; and as the wants of the monarch were supplied from all parts of his empire, so were theirs from every part of each department. Particular spots were appointed to provide particular necessaries or luxuries, and Herodotus tells us that Masistius, satrap of Babylon, reserved no less than four considerable villages of Babylonia for the support of his Indian hounds.[8]

To these burdens was added the maintenance of the king's troops, which were quartered in large corps through all the provinces, and which (as will be shown in the next section) were paid, not out of the king's private chest, or from the provincial tribute, but by the provinces they occupied.

With these contributions in kind were reckoned the payments in specie, or rather the tributes in uncoined gold and silver, of which Herodotus has afforded us his well-known statement.[9] Whether these were collected by way of a poll-tax, or an income-tax, or in whatever other way, the historian does not inform us, but he assures us that they amounted annually to fourteen thousand five hundred talents. The gold and silver thus collected (the Indians alone paying their tribute in gold) was stored up in ingots, of which the king made use as he found occasion.[10]

We may, however, readily suppose that the sums set down by Herodotus did not always continue the same. The

[8] HEROD. l. c.

[9] HEROD. iii. 20, etc.

[10] Ibid. iii. 96. Before the time of Darius Hystaspis the Persians had no coinage of their own; and the daricus first struck by him was properly a medal (HEROD. iv. 166) of the finest gold. Such also was the origin of the gold coinage of the Sofis of the later Persian empire. CHARDIN, ii. p. 127. When the darics became current, especially after the mercenary troops were paid in them, their numbers must have been greatly augmented. Yet Strabo assures us that coin was by no means abundant among the Persians, and their gold was rather employed in decoration than as a circulating medium. STRABO, p. 1068.

mighty armaments undertaken by the Persian government, especially under Xerxes, called for extraordinary expenses, and necessitated an augmentation of the imposts, as is expressly mentioned.[11] When mercenary troops came to be a part of the Persian establishment, an augmentation of the tribute was a necessary consequence.

Nor were the sums of which the satraps drained the provinces comprehended in those already enumerated. The satrap of Babylon alone received every day more than an Attic medimnus full of silver,[12] which on a moderate computation made up a revenue of more than £100,000 sterling, and the sum paid to the king from the same province amounted to about twice as much.

The conclusion deducible from all this is, that the sums enumerated by Herodotus by no means comprehended all that the provinces had to furnish, but only what the satraps paid over to the king's exchequer.

These imposts were extended over the whole empire, Persis alone excepted:[13] immunity from tribute being a natural privilege of the victorious nation.

To these principal sources of public revenue were added others, founded partly in the peculiar character of the country, partly in the nature of its constitution.

To the first class belongs the revenue derived from the rights of irrigation. Persia is a very arid country, and, with the finest climate, its fertility depends in consequence on the supply of water. In ancient, as well as modern times, this has furnished its rulers with a pretext for exacting contributions from their subjects,[14] of which Herodotus records a remarkable example. One of the most fertile portions of the country was divided by the river Aces into five distinct branches or arms, which extended up into the mountains; among these mountains the kings of Persia caused to be erected mighty embankments, in order to keep in their own power the water of the river, and employed this power to extract from their subjects an additional tribute.[15]

Another source of revenue to the royal treasury was the

[11] HEROD. vii. 7; STRABO, loc. cit. [12] HEROD. i. 192.
[13] Ibid. iii. 97. [14] See the account given by CHARDIN, ii. 346.
[15] HEROD. iii. 117. We have already remarked that this appears to be the modern Khieva.

right of fishing in the canal which connects the lake Mœris with the Nile. During the six months that the water flowed into the lake, the revenue amounted to a talent each day, during the remaining six, to twenty minæ.[16]

In addition to these, the confiscations of the property of satraps and other grandees was a considerable source of revenue; in Persia, as in all despotic states, the loss of life being accompanied by the forfeiture of property.[17]

The free-will offerings, however, as they were styled, which were presented to the king, were probably still more considerable. It was the universal custom of the East for none to present himself before a superior, more especially the king, without a present. The grandees of the court (the satraps for instance) sought in this manner to purchase or retain the king's favour, but on certain solemnities, (particularly on the king's birthday,) such offerings flowed in from all parts of the empire.[18] These consisted not so much in money, as in rarities and valuables of every description, such as are delineated on the ruins of Persepolis. What treasures must on such an occasion have been accumulated out of the immense empire of Persia!

Such an arrangement with respect to the public revenue shows at the outset that the expenditure also must have been no less peculiar.

We have already remarked, that we must dismiss the idea of any thing like a public treasury, out of which the servants of the state were regularly paid, an arrangement equally unknown in ancient as in modern Persia.

All the expenses which could be characterized as public, such as the maintenance of armies, etc., are not met by the resources of the king's exchequer, but previously provided for in the provinces. The king's treasure remains a private chest for his personal use, from which he takes what he wants for the purpose of making presents, not in coin, but in ingots, or in vessels of gold;[19] even the expenses of the court and household not being provided for out of it, but defrayed in the two following ways.

[16] Herod. ii. 149.

[17] An example occurs in the punishment of Orœtes, Herod. iii. 128.

[18] Plato, *Op.* ii. p. 121. Compare what has been already offered respecting the relievos at Persepolis.

[19] Herod. iii. 130.

All the inferior attendants in the court, including the body-guard, which in Europe would receive pay, were not paid in specie at the court of Persia, but in produce;[20] and to this purpose were devoted the provisions of which such abundance was transmitted from the different provinces, and which more than sufficed for the consumption of the court.

On the other hand, all of a more elevated rank, the great officers of the court, the friends or kinsmen of the king, who on account of their birth or offices might aspire to favours or pensions, did not receive any thing in money, but were rather in assignments of towns or cities, which the king disposed of at his pleasure, in virtue of his title as sole proprietor of the chattels and lives of his subjects; as the autocrat of all the Russias was in the habit of making a present of some thousands of serfs.[21] The individual to whom

[20] The principal passage on this subject is in ATHENÆUS, iv. 146, taken from an ancient author, HERACLIDES of Cumæ. The reader may not be displeased to find it here entire, though only the last words have reference to the present chapter.

"Those who wait on the king at table, being always freshly washed and handsomely dressed, pass nearly half the day in preparing his repast. As for the king's guests, some of them dine without, in a place where all may see them, others in the interior of the palace in his presence. Even these, however, do not properly dine with him, for there are two apartments over against one another, in one of which dines the king, and in the other his guests. The king sees them through the curtain at the door, but they cannot see the king. On solemn occasions, they sometimes dine all together in the great hall. When the king gives a banquet (which happens frequently) only twelve guests are invited. When the king and his guests provide severally their own dinners, the latter are called in by a eunuch, and when they are all assembled they drink wine with him, but not the same wine; they are seated on the floor, the king on a chair with golden feet, but it is usual for them to quit his presence intoxicated. Generally, "however, the king dines alone, his consort" (as in the history of Esther) or one of his sons is occasionally admitted to his table, and damsels from the harem are accustomed to sing before him. The banquet of the king has the appearance of being very splendid, though in fact there reigns a great economy, as in the meals of the grandees also of Persia. A thousand victims are slaughtered every day for the service of the palace, consisting of horses, camels, oxen, asses, but especially sheep; together with a great abundance of fowls. A separate mess is set before every one of the king's guests, and he takes away what he does not eat. By far the greater portion however of these victuals, as well as the bread, is destined to support the household of the court, the guards, etc., and is carried out to them in the courts, both bread and meat, where they receive it in rations. For as the mercenary troops among the Greeks are paid in money, so are the king's soldiers in food. The same is the case in the households of the grandees of Persia, and those of the governors of cities and provinces."

[21] For what follows I must refer to the excellent account of CHARDIN, vol. iii. 352, etc. It is astonishing how completely the same customs appear on comparison to have prevailed in the court of Xerxes, and that of the Sofis.

such an assignment was made received the revenue of the place in question, and the king possessed accurate accounts of their value, so as to regulate the distribution of his favours.[22] Nevertheless the person thus favoured appears to have been obliged to make over a part of his income to the king in the way of tribute.[23] With individuals of the highest rank, the mother or consort of the monarch, luxury had attained such an excess, that a variety of places were assigned them to provide severally for even the most insignificant of their wants. In this manner a fruitful district, a day's journey in length, was allotted to furnish the queen's zone;[24] and thus Themistocles received the city of Magnesia, producing a revenue of fifty talents, to supply him with bread, Lampsacus to furnish wine, and Myus the side dishes of his table.[25]

Besides these allotments of villages and cities, it was usual also to assign, in like manner, houses and lands in the provinces; and donations of this kind were usually coupled with offices at the court, an institution ascribed to Cyrus himself, and which descended to after ages.[26]

Those possessed of such assignments enjoyed them for their lives; on their decease their places and possessions reverted to the king, to dispose of according to his pleasure. Without such an arrangement it would have been impossible for the boundless empire of Persia itself to have sufficed to supply the liberality of the monarch, exercised as it was towards so large a number, and compelled also to provide for many expenses. Nevertheless the possessions attached to places at court became, according to Xenophon, hereditary, and constituted the patrimony of those whose ancestors had been first appointed to the same by Cyrus.[27] Among a people whose constitution, like that of the Persians, was entirely dependent on descent and distinctions of tribe, it was natural that offices should become heredi-

The same thing is true also of Eastern Persia. See ELPHINSTONE, 524. In almost every case remuneration is made there also in the way of payments in kind, or assignments on the part of the court, denominated *Tokuls*.

[22] A variety of examples confirmatory of this custom have been collected by BRISSON, p. 209, etc.

[23] This appears from the example of Tissaphernes, XENOPH. *Op.* p. 244.

[24] PLAT. *Op.* ii. p. 123; cf. CICERO, *in Verrem.* iii. c. 83.

[25] THUCYD. i. 138; cf. STRABO, xiv. p. 943; and DIOD. i. p. 447.

[26] XENOPH. *Cyrop.* viii. *Op.* p. 230.

[27] Ibid. loc. cit.

tary,[28] and an immediate consequence that the revenues attached to them should follow the same rule.

These preliminary observations will help us to comprehend the internal administration of the provinces. As the very division into provinces was for the purpose of collecting with greater accuracy the tribute, the political administration of the satrapies connected therewith was not matured at once, but gradually developed. As the age of Xenophon may be considered on the whole the most flourishing period of Persian history, we shall be less likely to err if we confine ourselves to the evidence which he has afforded.

The government by satraps, which was then complete, was common to Persia with other despotic empires; but as it entailed a multitude of abuses, attempts were made as much as possible to mitigate them.

The advantage which, in this particular, the Persian system of administration possessed over all others of the same kind, was the careful separation made between the civil and military powers; the exceptions which occurred in the latter ages of the empire having grown out of abuses. According to Persian ideas the king had a twofold duty to perform, of providing for the security, and also for the good government and cultivation, of his empire: to secure the former object, garrisons were established throughout its whole extent; and the civil authorities[29] were appointed to provide for the latter.

The foundation of this beneficial arrangement was laid at the very commencement of the empire, by the appointment of receivers of the royal treasury, together with that of commanders of the forces, and the same continued after the provinces came to be more accurately divided, and satraps to be created. Xenophon gives us the most satisfactory proof of this, when he records the first nomination and appointment of satraps, which, as he tells us, were first made by Cyrus.[30]

"You know," he is introduced saying to his friends, "that I have left garrisons and their commandants in the

[28] The same is the case with the modern Persians, CHARDIN, iii. 325.
[29] See for what follows, XENOPH. *Œcon. Op.* p. 829.
[30] XENOPH. CYROP. *Op.* p. 230.

conquered countries and cities, to whom I have given in charge to attend to nothing else but their security. Together with these I shall also appoint satraps who may govern the inhabitants, receive the tribute, pay the garrisons, and attend to all other necessary points of business." This institution continued uninterrupted for a long period, and the satraps are repeatedly mentioned in history together with the commandants of troops.[31] However, in the later ages of the Persian monarchy, it became the custom to appoint the satraps to the command also of the king's troops, more especially when they happened to be individuals of the royal family. In this manner the younger Cyrus was satrap of Mysia, Phrygia, and Lydia, and at the same time generalissimo of all the forces assembled in the plain of Castolus.[32] The same we find to have been the case with Pharnabazus and others, so much so, that even in the time of Xenophon it had become customary for the satrap of a province to be also commander of the forces there;[33] more especially in the frontier provinces, where such a union of powers was more especially necessary.[34] The pernicious effects of this practice, and its tendency to promote revolt among the satraps, and to prepare the way for the internal dissolution of the empire, are sufficiently proved by the single example of the younger Cyrus. Notwithstanding, however, this abuse, it is not true that a military government was introduced in the provinces, for the other civil officers continued to be independent of the commanders of the forces, and the latter were not allowed to take any part in the civil administration. Xenophon tells us that the satraps were intrusted with the surveillance of the commanders of the troops as well as over the civil magistrates; the king of Persia appointing persons of both descriptions commanders of the forces, and also ma-

[31] See HEROD. v. 25; ARRIAN. ii. 2.

[32] XENOPH. *Op.* p. 267. [33] Ibid. p. 829.

[34] In modern Persia, also, the military commanders (sardars) are distinct from the civil authorities. They hold their offices as military men, and consequently pay no tribute; but in time of war they are obliged to levy troops and defend the frontier. This is the case with the governor, or rather prince, of Erivan, who has also assumed some of the insignia of royalty. (PORTER, i. 202.) This throws a light also on ancient Persian history. In like manner Cyrus bequeathed at his death Bactriana, or the eastern provinces, to his younger son free from tribute. CTESIAS, *Pers.* 8. The same, undoubtedly, was also often the case in Asia Minor, as in the instance of the younger Cyrus.

gistrates to govern the country, the one class being bound to pay deference to the other.[35]

The first duty of the satraps and their deputies (ὕπαρχοι)[36] undoubtedly was the collection of the revenue, whether in kind or in money; their office, however, was not limited to this, but they were at the same time commissioned to promote agriculture and the improvement of the soil;[37] and the remarkable attention which was devoted to these objects constitutes the chief merit of the Persian administration. The code of Zoroaster, as has been already remarked,[38] insisted upon the duty of cultivating the soil, by gardening, rearing of cattle, and tillage, as one of the most sacred duties of his disciples, every thing impure being banished from the land where his law was received, and nothing allowed there but pure men, pure animals, and pure vegetables. This idea of the legislator, when applied to a whole empire, presents, doubtless, a magnificent picture, which, though it must needs remain for the most part an ideal picture, was nevertheless, to a great extent, realized under the Persian monarchy. Those parks or paradises, which surrounded not only the palaces of the monarch, but those of his satraps, were so many lively images of the pure kingdom of Ormuzd, realized as far as was possible by the most illustrious of his servants. When the younger Cyrus led the admiring Lysander through his pleasure-grounds, and displayed their regularity and beauty, "All these," he informed him,[39] "I have myself planned, and even planted many of the trees with my own hands;" and when the Spartan general replied by an incredulous glance at his splendid robes, and chains, and armlets of gold, he sware to him by Mithras, as a good servant of Ormuzd, that he never tasted food till he had fatigued himself by labour.

These precepts, therefore, of their religion made it the sacred duty of the rulers of the provinces to further the cultivation of their several districts; and as the military establishment underwent a review every year, so also did the civil

[35] XENOPH. loc. cit.

[36] The Grecian name ὕπαρχοι denotes sometimes the satraps themselves; sometimes the intendants under them, otherwise termed οἰκονόμοι. JOS. *Ant.* xi. 6.

[37] See XENOPH. *Œcon. Op.* p. 829.

[38] See above, p. 242, sqq.

[39] XENOPH. *Œcon. Op.* p. 830.

department. Xenophon tells us, that "The king visited every year some part of his empire, and wheresoever he was not able to proceed himself he sent a delegate for the same purpose. Those magistrates in whose territory the ground was found to be well cultivated, and covered with trees or crops, had an augmentation of territory allotted to them by the king, and are rewarded with presents; and those whose provinces were found to be ill cultivated and depopulated, whether through neglect or in consequence of oppression, were rebuked and deprived of their command, and others appointed in their place."[40]

If these institutions had not been broken down by the abuses which hastened the fall of the Persian monarchy, they would have formed a considerable set-off against all the inevitable evils which accompany despotic governments. However considerable might be the expense occasioned by the maintenance of the king, his satraps, and forces, it cannot have been oppressive in countries blessed with such singular fertility, where the imposts were chiefly paid in kind, so long as wise enactments for the cultivation of the soil tended to lighten these burdens; but the extravagance and luxury of the great, and their frequent revolts and intestine wars, caused these sage laws to fall into disuse, and frustrated the benevolent intentions of the Median legislator.

The disposal of the government of provinces rested with the king, who usually appointed kinsmen of his own, his brothers, or his sons-in-law.[41] The court of the satrap was formed on that of the monarch, and all its ceremonial the same, only less magnificent. The satraps also had their harems, intrusted, like that of the monarch, to eunuchs, and a numerous attendance of household troops, distinct from the king's soldiers, and consisting in part or altogether of Persians:[42] their residences, like those of the monarch, were surrounded by parks; and occasionally, in the finer months of the year, they (like the monarch) migrated from one place to another, attended by their courts, and spent the summer under tents.[43]

[40] Xenoph. *Op.* p. 828. [41] Ibid. p. 664.

[42] Orœtes, the satrap of Mysia and Phrygia, had a thousand Persian guards about him. Herod. iii. 128. Tritantæchmus, the satrap of Babylon, had no less than eight hundred stallions and sixteen thousand mares, without counting his war-horses. Herod. i. 192.

[43] See the example of Astabazus, in Xenoph. *Op.* p. 509, 510.

History has afforded us a remarkable instance of the manner in which the imposts were collected by these officers. When the Persians had subdued Ionia the second time, the whole territory was measured out by parasangs, and the tribute apportioned accordingly.[44] In this case it was evidently a land-tax, which, however, was paid, it is probable, for the most part in produce. The satrap received these imposts, whether in kind or in money, and after providing for his own expenditure, the support of the king's troops, and the maintenance of the civil magistrates, the remainder was handed over to the king. The personal interest of the satrap, if he wished to retain the king's favour, prompted him to make this return as considerable as possible, even if no precise amount was fixed.

To take care of the king's interests there were also attached to the court of each satrap royal scribes,[45] to whom were issued the king's commands, and by whom they were communicated to the satrap. The commands thus conveyed required the most prompt obedience, and the smallest resistance was accounted rebellion. Even the suspicion of any thing of the kind was sufficient to cause their ruin, and, as in the Turkish empire, their punishment was unaccompanied by any formality whatever. The sovereign despatched an emissary, who delivered the order for the execution of a satrap to his guards, who put it in execution by hewing him down upon the spot with their sabres.[46]

To further the speedy communication with the provinces, a system was adopted which has been compared, but very improperly, with the European institution of posts. Messengers were appointed at different stations, distant from each other a day's journey, for the purpose of conveying the king's mandates to the satraps, and the despatches of the latter to the court.[47]

[44] HEROD. vi. 42.

[45] Ibid. iii. 128.

[46] See the interesting account of the punishment of Orœtes under Darius Hystaspis, as given by HERODOTUS, iii. 126, etc. Another example is that of Tissaphernes, who, after the overthrow of the younger Cyrus, was restored to his lands. Notwithstanding this favour, Artaxerxes sent a plenipotentiary (Tithraustes) with orders to bring back his head. XENOPH. *Op.* p. 501.

[47] HEROD. viii. 98; cf. XENOPH. *Op.* p. 232. The institution was termed by the Persians ἀγγαρήϊον. It cannot be compared with our posts, as it was exclusively intended for the use of the court alone. A similar arrangement still remains in modern Persia. MORIER, i. 269.

Institutions of this kind are peculiarly essential to despotic governments, in which it is excessively difficult to maintain the dependence of the præfects or governors, and occur in almost every one which possesses any thing like an internal organization. The same existed under the Roman monarchy, and was established, at still greater expense, in the empire of the Mongols, by the successors of Ginghis-khan.[48]

Another plan was also adopted by the Persian monarchs for securing the allegiance of their satraps. A commissioner at the head of an army was sent every year, with authority, according to circumstances, to uphold or chastise those officers; and Xenophon assures us that this custom, which dated from the commencement of the empire, subsisted in his time.[49] The design at first undoubtedly was, as in other kingdoms similarly governed, to collect the outstanding tribute, but when we consider the power and arrogance of the satraps during the latter half of the Persian monarchy, we may well believe that the custom may have died away.

We have already described in general the causes of the presumption of the satraps and the revolts to which it led.[50] Besides the union in their persons of the civil and military powers, one main cause was the greatness of the command intrusted to some by joining together two or more satrapies. An example of this, and of the arrogance to which it gave rise, occurs as early as the reign of Darius Hystaspis in the person of Orœtes, who was at the same time satrap of Phrygia and Lydia;[51] and in succeeding reigns this practice became still more frequent, especially in the case of the satrapies of Asia Minor. Cyrus the younger was governor of the greater part of that peninsula, and, after his death, Tissaphernes was allowed to hold the governments possessed by him in addition to those which had been all along his own.[52]

From this period Persian history continues to present a constant picture of the perpetually increasing arrogance of these viceroys, who sometimes openly revolted, and some-

[48] See a highly interesting account of Marco Polo, in the collection of RAMUSIO, vol. ii. p. 30.

[49] XENOPH. *Op.* p. 232.

[50] See above, p. 228.

[51] HEROD. iii. 127.

[52] XENOPH. *Op.* p. 480.

times, with the title of satrap, set themselves up as independent sovereigns.[53] Several of them were, in fact, the founders of monarchies, which, like those of Cappadocia, Pontus, and others, gradually became more or less independent. The combinations and dissensions of these governors among themselves contributed to keep alive a spirit of insubordination, which was promoted by the effeminacy and corruption of the court. They began to treat their provinces, not as districts committed to their care, but as territories, the revenues of which they were to enjoy; and as early as the time of Xenophon, we find a satrap of Mysia arbitrarily nominating a vice-satrap, to whom, on payment of a tribute, he committed the management of his province, and after his death, continued the same to his widow, on security being given of the payment of his revenues.[54] Such arbitrary measures must have gradually destroyed the internal structure of the empire, and the slightness of the adherence of its several parts is effectually proved by the history of its fall.

IV. MILITARY AFFAIRS OF PERSIA.

In the case of a conquering nation, the institutions of war are so intimately mixed up with its constitution that, even in a work principally devoted to the arts of peace, the former cannot be entirely passed over. This is still more indispensable from the circumstance that the peculiar character of oriental warfare has given occasion to many erroneous ideas.

The military expeditions undertaken by a nomad nation, such as the Persians once were, are, in their origin, migrations, for the purpose of occupying better and more fruitful spots. Hence the custom of removing at the same time their wives and children and all their movable possessions, which invariably encumbered the march of such armaments. Xenophon expressly tells us that this was the practice of

[53] Tissaphernes and the younger Cyrus were at war with one another previous to the expedition of the latter, and their enmity was viewed with satisfaction by the court. XENOPH. *Op.* p. 480.

[54] XENOPH. *Hist. Gr.* iii. p. 482.

most Asiatic nations,[1] and that it was an old Persian custom would appear from the sequel of their history.[2]

In like manner the habits of nomad nations necessarily causes such armaments to consist altogether or principally of cavalry. The first was the case with the Mongols; the last with the Persians. As the first-mentioned practice retards, so does this greatly accelerate the march of their armies. The limited nature of their wants enable them, when occasion requires, to dispense with any baggage, and the history of the Mongols affords examples of the inconceivable speed with which such armies have accomplished lengthened marches which would have driven a European army to despair.[3]

These are the fundamental points to be observed with regard to the military system of nomad nations in general and the Persians in particular; but as their civil constitution became gradually developed, so did their military institutions undergo at all events considerable modifications, although they never attained the perfection which marks those of Europe. The example of the Turkish empire continues to show with what difficulty an Asiatic, who is always half a nomad, can be inured to discipline. As this is the offspring of a sense of honour and love of country, so, on the other hand, despotism is the parent of licence and brutality, which may indeed display their energies in furious onsets, but not in deeds of cool daring like those of Europeans.

A dominion acquired by conquest can only be maintained by standing armies, and we cannot, therefore, be surprised to find the provinces of Persia constantly occupied by great masses of men, destined to keep them in subjection, as well as to defend them against a foreign invader.

Immediately upon the completion of their conquests such forces were suffered to remain in the provinces, supported not by the king but by the conquered. Examples especially occur in the frontier states, in Asia Minor, Egypt, and others, which were especially exposed to assaults from without, or where an insurrection was most to be appre-

[1] XENOPH. *Op.* p. 91.

[2] HEROD. viii. 186, 187. Not only the king, but all the chief Persians, continued to take their families with them. ARRIAN. ii. 11.

[3] See a highly interesting account of the Mongol expeditions by Marco Polo, RAMUSIO, ii. p. 151.

hended.[4] Asia Minor, however, from the commencement of the wars with Greece, became the principal depôt for the forces of Persia: it was filled with considerable bodies of men which could be readily drawn together when occasion required, and thus Alexander, on invading it, found there troops drawn together to oppose him on the banks of the Granicus.[5]

In the most flourishing epoch of their history the military system of the Persians was as follows.[6] In every province were kept up two descriptions of forces, those which occupied the open country, and those which kept possession of the cities, as garrisons. These were distinct, and commanded by different generals.

Of the first description of forces it was clearly defined how many, and of what class, were to be maintained in each province. The principal strength consisted in cavalry, but there were also bowmen, slingers, and heavy-armed infantry. The care of keeping up the full numbers of these forces was committed to their successive commanders, and they were supported, both as respected food and money, by the revenues of the provinces, and as these were paid into the treasury of the satrap, the latter had to provide for the pay of the soldiery. The commanders, however, of the forces, were not subject to the governors,[7] unless by special appointment. On the other hand, they appear to have been immediately dependent on the king, having been appointed by him, and deposed at his pleasure,[8] and a catalogue of such officers remaining in his hands. The annual review of the forces also, which was extended to all the empire, were not usually held by the satraps, but in the neighbourhood of the capitals, by the king himself, and in remote provinces, by persons deputed by him to hold them in his name. Great exactness was exercised on these occasions, and according to the good or bad condition of the forces, their commanders

[4] See HEROD. i. 162. For instance, in Thrace, under DARIUS, iv. 143, and vii. 58; and EGYPT, iv. 167.

[5] The Persian army was then forty thousand men strong, half infantry and half cavalry; the latter being Persians.

[6] The proofs of what follows are to be found in XENOPH. *Œcon. Op.* p. 828.

[7] If the satrap desired the services of the king's troops, he was obliged first to ask the king's permission.

[8] HEROD. vi. 43.

were applauded, and rewarded with presents, or deprived of their rank, or visited with arbitrary punishments.[9]

To these arrangements was added another, the subdivision of the empire into certain military cantons, independent of the civil administration; formed with a reference to the muster-places of the troops.[10] In this manner the forces stationed in a particular province were always collected at one point, from which the canton derived its appellation. Mention occurs of those in Asia Minor, and as the above institutions extended to the whole of the empire, and reviews were held in every province, it is to be supposed that this custom also was universal. Herodotus expressly mentions the cantons on this side the Halys, and consequently we must conclude the same to have prevailed on the other side. Of the cantons in Asia Minor, Xenophon particularizes that of which the muster-place was the plain of Castolus;[11] as that of Thymbra[12] was for the army of Syria; Herodotus also mentions the Aleius Campus in Cilicia.[13]

These troops were distributed through the provinces by thousands, and their commanders consequently denominated Chiliarchs;[14] and not only were they generally dispersed over the country, but bodies of them were posted on the boundaries, where, if the nature of the ground permitted it, the passage from one province to another was strongly fortified.[15]

It certainly remains a question what was the strength of these forces in the provinces, but the great facility with which armies were got together, proves them to have been very considerable. In Asia Minor alone Cyrus assembled above one hundred thousand men;[16] Abrocomas, who was opposed to him on his march, had three hundred thousand;[17] and the Persian army on the Granicus was forty thousand strong.[18]

From these troops the garrisons in the cities were kept

[9] Xenoph. loc. cit.

[10] They are termed by Herodotus *νομοί*, v. 182.

[11] Xenoph. *Op.* p. 243, 267.

[12] Ibid. p. 158.

[13] Herod. vi. 95.

[14] Xenoph. *Op.* p. 828.

[15] For instance, at the defiles of Cilicia, the Persian and Cilician forces were posted over against one another. Xenoph. *Op.* p. 253.

[16] Xenoph. *Op.* p. 261.

[17] Ibid. p. 262.

[18] Arrian, i. 14.

entirely distinct,[19] and the importance attached by the Persians to places of strength was in proportion to the difficulty which (like all other nomad nations, who know nothing about the conduct of sieges) they had experienced in subduing them. They were looked upon as the keys of the provinces in which they were situated, and accordingly provided with ample garrisons. The troops in question were completely different from those mentioned above, not being comprehended in the military divisions alluded to, but being under commanders of their own, and not bound to appear at the general muster.[20]

Both descriptions of forces were, however, comprehended under the title of the king's army, and were distinct from the household troops of the satraps and grandees, which often amounted to several thousands.[21] By the customs of the East, every great man is attended by an armed retinue, proportioned to his rank and wealth, and as the vice-regal courts were formed upon the model of the king's, this became necessarily a part of their establishments, and the more readily, as corps of troops were a no less customary present from the monarch to his favourites than were cities.[22]

Originally, it is probable that all these troops may have been Persians, but as these gradually withdrew themselves from martial duties, their places were supplied by mercenaries, Greeks or Asiatics. As cavalry, the nomad nations to the south and east of the Caspian were preferred, the Hyrcanians, Parthians, and Sacæ. The first especially had a high character with the Persians for courage,[23] and on this account the latter kept up a good understanding with the wandering hordes of Great Bucharia, though no longer their tributaries.[24] The Greeks, however, were preferred to all the rest, and as early as the time of the younger Cyrus, not only did the flower of the army always consist of them, but, towards the end of the Persian monarchy, they

[19] XENOPH. *Op.* p. 828.

[20] Their duty was not so much to guard the cities themselves as the citadels and castles, which existed in every place of any sort of consequence. Their commanders were styled *φρουράρχοι*, and were perfectly distinct from the civil magistrates. XENOPH. loc. cit.

[21] See HEROD. iii. 127; ix. 113.

[22] HEROD. ix. 109. [23] XENOPH. *Op.* p. 91.

[24] ARRIAN, iii. 19. These nations, thus receiving pay from the Persian government, were comprehended under the general term of allies, *σύμμαχοι*.

constituted the garrisons of all the cities of Asia Minor.[25] Before the time of the younger Cyrus, their pay amounted to a daric[26] per month, (about 1*l.* 0*s.* 4*d.* sterling,[27]) which was augmented by Cyrus to a daric and a half. We have already remarked the fatal consequences which this custom had on the warlike temper of the Persians.

In a nation of conquerors every individual is expected to be a soldier, and among the Persians all, especially those in possession of lands, were required to be able to serve on horseback.[28] This necessitated an internal constitution of the whole empire, having for its object the military equipment of the population; and the arrangement adopted has usually been the same in all Asiatic nations, and is the simplest that could have been devised. A decimal system runs through the whole empire, and serves at the same time to mark the rank of the commander. The common people are divided into bodies of ten, having a captain of that number, after whom come the commanders of hundreds, thousands, and tens of thousands. Officers of a higher rank are not apportioned to particular bodies of men, but form the general staff. This has been equally the case among the Mongols and the Persians,[29] and this simple arrangement made it possible for both races to assemble large armies with incredible rapidity. All that was required was a mandate from the commander of ten thousand, which was transmitted to the commanders of thousands, and hundreds, and tens, till the forces, already organized, assembled in martial array. In this manner the Mongol princes often got together, in a few days, armies of cavalry to the number of several hundreds of thousands, and we cannot, therefore, be astonished to see the same thing take place among the Persians.

The great multitude of nomad tribes which wandered on

[25] ARRIAN, i. 19. [26] XENOPH. *Op.* p. 252.

[27] Heeren says, "one ducat," but a ducat is only about 9*s.* 6*d.* or at most 10*s.* of our money. TRANS.]

[28] XENOPH. *Cyrop.* viii. *Op.* p. 241.

[29] See the places cited by BRISSON, p. 725; and for the Mongols compare MARCO POLO, *Ramusio*, ii. p. 15. The nomination of the officers depends upon the king only inasmuch as he appoints the generals, τοῦς στρατηγούς. The latter nominate the commanders of tens of thousands and thousands; and the former of these, the captains of hundreds and tens. HEROD. vii. 81. A similar institution (differing in some particulars) existed in the army of Timour. *Institutes de Tamerlain*, p. 47.

the borders of the Persian empire greatly facilitated the assembling of mighty armaments. These tribes readily engaged in such enterprises, either for pay, or allured by the hope of plunder. As the Baskirs and Calmucks follow the Russian armies, so did the Mardi, Pericanii, and others, those of Cyrus;[30] and the more widely the dominion of the Persians was extended, the greater became the number of such auxiliaries. The Persians stood the more in need of their aid, as their own cavalry was always heavy-armed. With them, as with the Parthians, both man and horse were armed in mail,[31] though, strictly speaking, this appears to have been a distinction confined to a certain number,[32] and the greater part seem to have had no defensive armour, and thus served to swell the carnage which the Greeks wrought among them after the victory of Platææ.[33]

The foregoing sections must have served to explain the way in which these forces subsisted in the provinces. Each province was obliged to furnish to the governor what was necessary to their maintenance,[34] in kind, and the governor caused what was so collected to be distributed among the soldiers.[35] Payment in money was made only to the Grecian auxiliaries, who could not otherwise have been kept together, having been accustomed to the same in their own country: the Persians were bound to serve without pay, and the nomad races of Central Asia, many of whom had never even seen coined money, were as little disposed to require remuneration in that shape as are at the present day many of the auxiliaries of the Russian armies.

In a warlike nation, a military command always confers great distinction, being often regarded as more honourable than the civil magistracies; and this was the case among the Persians. The Myriarchs (commanders of tens of thousands), and Chiliarchs (commanders of thousands), enjoyed

[30] The Mardi are mentioned as making part of the army of Cyrus by HERODOTUS, i. 84.

[31] The introduction of this custom is ascribed by Xenophon to Cyrus. XENOPH. *Op.* p. 263.

[32] HEROD. viii. 113. [33] Ibid. ix. 70. [34] See above, p. 264.

[35] This would appear from the expressions of Xenophon. Among the modern Persians the governor does not receive the payments in kind at all, but the soldiers are allowed billets upon particular villages, which are compelled to furnish them with all they want. It may be conjectured, therefore, that the same was the case among their ancestors. (CHARDIN, iii. 312, etc.)

a distinguished rank, and the officers above them, the generals, were among the most illustrious of the nation. Of the generality of these we are expressly told that they belonged to the family of the Achæmenidæ, or at all events to the tribe of the Pasargadæ,[36] or were connected by marriage with the royal house,[37] and consequently the officers of rank consisted principally of the king's kinsmen. Among these generals themselves, however, (of whom there were usually several in an army,[38]) there existed gradations of rank;[39] and if a king's son was appointed generalissimo, this was understood as equivalent to his nomination as successor.[40]

Hitherto we have confined our remarks to the troops which were regularly maintained by the Persians to defend the conquered provinces. With the exception of those raised among the Persians themselves, these appear, from what has been stated, to have consisted of mercenary troops, to the exclusion of the natives of the provinces themselves; nevertheless the latter were by no means free from all military service, but were summoned on occasions of extraordinary expeditions undertaken for the extension of the empire. On such emergencies general mandates were issued throughout all the vast dominion of Persia, the nations of the East and West were gathered together in herds, and one of the most extraordinary spectacles ensued which the history of the world has recorded, and the more deserving of our regard for the accuracy with which Herodotus has described the armament of Darius, and still more that of Xerxes.

When the Persians began their career as conquerors they adopted and always maintained the custom, that the conquered nations should swell the numbers of their host, and accompany them in their more remote expeditions.[41] When, however, their empire had become consolidated and organ-

[36] See HEROD. iv. 167; v. 32; and especially vii. 82, 88, 97. I am aware of only one instance of such a command being delegated to one of another tribe, the Maraphii (which, however, was one of the noble tribes). See HEROD. iv. 167.

[37] HEROD. v. 116. [38] Ibid. loc. cit.

[39] HEROD. v. 123, where Otanes is denominated the third in command. It is to be remarked that exactly the same system, both as regards the constitution and maintenance of the army, were adopted also by the Mongol conquerors. See *Instituts Politiques et Militaires de Timur*, p. 47, etc., and (for the modern Persians) CHARDIN, loc. cit.

[40] HEROD. vii. 2. [41] See HEROD. i. 171; iv. 87.

ized, and stretched from the Indus to the Mediterranean, the drawing together of forces so widely disseminated must have become burdened with endless difficulties, and would consequently, on occasions of minor importance, (such as slight internal disturbances, or trifling wars,) have been as futile as impossible. On extraordinary occasions, however, whether of great national undertakings for the aggrandizement of the empire, or of formidable invasions from without, the custom was revived of mustering the whole force of the empire, as is proved by the mighty expeditions of Darius Hystaspis, of Xerxes, and the last Darius.

Even the preliminary steps to such armaments were of vast magnitude. The king's mandate was addressed to all nations, and specified the number of men, horses, and ships, or the amount of provisions to be furnished by each.[42] The commotion which was excited in all Asia by the preparations made for the expedition of Xerxes, lasted for four years. Time was necessary to enable remote nations to send in their contingent.

A general rendezvous was then appointed, which, in the case of the armament just mentioned, was Cappadocia in Asia Minor.[43] Hither all the contingents of the different provinces resorted, conducted by leaders of their own race.[44] These, however, were allowed no authority in actual war, the officers being taken exclusively from among the Persians.[45] This was a privilege reserved for the conquering nation, as was the case, also, among the Mongols and Tartars. The subject nations, on the other hand, were treated as bondsmen, and termed slaves, in contradiction to the Persians, who were denominated freemen. These terms, however, only marked the comparative freedom of the nations to whom they were applied, for with reference to the king, the Persians were as little free as the other subject nations.[46]

The order of the march, as long as the army continued to traverse the dominions of the empire, was remarkable;

[42] HEROD. iv. 83; vii. 20.
[43] Ibid. vii. 26.
[44] Herodotus tells us that each nation had as many commanders as they possessed cities; probably the cities were the first places of rendezvous.
[45] HEROD. loc. cit.
[46] Ibid. vii. 9.

or rather, it might almost be called an absence of all order. The men were not arranged according to the nations to which they belonged, but formed one vast chaotic mass. In the centre was the king, among his Persians; and the baggage was sent on before.[47] As the troops advanced on their march, the inhabitants of the country were driven on before them, and augmented the numbers of the host,[48] which thus perpetually accumulated, and as most nations took their wives and children with them to war, the baggage must have been immense.[49] Undoubtedly the most inexplicable part of this account, is the way in which the army was supplied with provisions. In the countries through which they had to pass, magazines of corn were necessarily prepared, long before, and further supplies of the same followed the army by sea.[50] The rest of their food the forces were left to find for themselves. For the king and his suite banquets were provided long before, and with such an unbounded expense, that this alone sufficed to ruin the cities which furnished them. This also was a consequence of the idea that the monarch was the sole proprietor of all that his provinces contained, and the Persians understood this so literally as to carry away with them the costly utensils of plate which were displayed on these occasions. It is needless to say that the idea of a regular encampment could not be entertained in the case of such enormous hosts; the king and his great men had indeed their tents, but the army at large bivouached under the open heavens, the necessary consequence being a multitude of diseases.[51]

It was only on their approaching the enemy's borders that the army was classed according to the nations of which it was composed; and at the same time the host was reviewed at the king's command.[52] To this custom we are indebted for that precious document, the catalogue of the host

[47] Herod. vii. 40.

[48] e. g. the Thracians.

[49] The multitude of the women, slaves, beasts of burden, and dogs, (says Herodotus,) was without number. (vii. 187.)

[50] The Phœnicians and Egyptians had been previously commissioned to store up magazines in Thrace and Macedonia. Herod. vii. 25. The want, however, of adequate supplies compelled the king to divide his immense army into three portions. Herod. vii. 121.

[51] Herod. vii. 118.

[52] Ibid. vii. 118, 119.

of Xerxes, which the father of history has preserved for us.[53] This review took place just within the confines of Europe, and little as the scene may instruct the soldier, this is one of the most interesting of all the records of history to the philosophical historian. On no occasion have so many and such various races of men been gathered together, as were here assembled in one spot, in their appropriate dresses and armour, on the plain of Doriscus.[54] Herodotus has enumerated and described fifty-six, which served some on foot, some on horse-back, and others on board the fleet.[55] Here were to be seen the cotton garments of the Indians, and the Ethiopians from above Egypt habited in lions' hides, the swarthy Ballooches from Gedrosia, and the nomad hordes from the steppes of Mongolia and Great Bucharia; wild races of huntsmen like the Sagartians, who, destitute of weapons of brass or iron, caught their enemies, like animals of the chase, in leathern lassos; and besides these, the rich dresses of the Medes and Bactrians, the Libyans drawn in war-chariots of four horses, and the Arabs mounted on camels. Here also were to be seen the fleets of the Phœnicians, and the Greeks of Asia Minor, compelled to serve against their kindred. Never did despotic power create a spectacle more glorious at its commencement or more lamentable in its issue. The straits of Thermopylæ first presented to the astonished Asiatics a sight

[53] HEROD. vii. 59, 100. See above, p. 56.

[54] Situated in Thrace, near the mouth of the Hebrus.

[55] Herodotus assures us that all these nations were originally accustomed to act as cavalry, but that the Persians only employed a certain number of them in that capacity. The difficulty of finding adequate forage must of itself have made this necessary. HEROD. vii. 84. He states the total amount of the fighting men in the army at about two millions and a half. In our own days we have seen the empire of France assemble in like manner about a million of warriors, and we cannot therefore be surprised that two millions and a half should have been collected from the vast extent of Asia, and no inconsiderable portion of Europe also. HEROD. vii. 185. The numbering of the army by tens of thousands was the customary practice on such expeditions, and adopted by Darius when he marched against the Scythians; the numbers, when thus ascertained, having been engraved on pillars. HEROD. iv. 87. The account, therefore, of the manner in which the troops were counted is no fiction, nor must the amount be considered as an exaggeration of Herodotus. Whether it was over-stated in the Persian accounts it is impossible to decide, and if any one should be inclined to think it exaggerated, he has a right to retain his opinion. As far, however, as relates to Herodotus, it is much more easy to accuse than to convict him of inaccuracy.

completely novel to them; it was to no purpose that their countless hordes were driven by the scourge[56] against a handful of Spartans; and although treachery at last conducted them over the lifeless bodies of those heroes, the names of Salamis and Platææ remained behind everlasting monuments of Grecian valour!

[56] HEROD. vii. 223.

PHŒNICIANS.

PHŒNICIANS.

The reflection, that the origin and internal government of the great Asiatic empires were nearly all alike, in a great measure consoles the historian for the scantiness of the information which has been preserved respecting the Assyrian, the Median, and other powerful monarchies. Even if our accounts of these were ever so perfect, they would scarcely afford us a picture of higher interest than the history of the Mongol states;—an endless series of warlike expeditions; of intestine wars, and the rebellion of powerful satrapies; of despotism, wholly unrelaxed, or only ceasing to reappear under some new form. How strikingly different from this is the history of the nation to whom the present chapter is devoted. The severest loss which ancient history has to mourn, a loss irreparable, is that of the destruction of the records that should inform us of the affairs, the government, and the enterprises of the Phœnicians. In proportion to the vast influence which this nation had in the civilization of mankind by its own great inventions and discoveries; (and the invention of alphabetical writing is alone sufficient to show their importance;) by its numerous colonies established in every quarter, and by its commerce extending even beyond these; the more sensibly we feel the gaps which the loss of these records leaves in the history of the human race. It is the conviction of the extent of this loss that gives the few fragments which have been preserved out of the great mass, a peculiar attraction to the historian; and though it may be impossible to compile from them a history of the Phœnicians, yet they will probably enable him to draw a tolerably faithful picture of the general character and genius of this nation in its various circumstances, and in the prosecution of its various undertakings. This object I think will be best attained by dividing the following

researches into four chapters: the first of these will relate to the peculiar nature of the country, and the condition and government of the people; the second will contain a geographical sketch of their extensive colonies; and the third and fourth, a view, founded on the foregoing, of their commerce both by sea and land.

The Hebrew and Greek writers are here again the sources from which our materials must be drawn. Had some kind chance preserved us, among the latter, the works of Dius, and Menander of Ephesus,[1] who wrote, in Tyre itself, a history of that city compiled from her own annals, how much more complete might our information have been! Of the native writers of Phœnicia, we have indeed some fragments of the celebrated work of Sanconiathon, preserved in a Greek translation among the remains of Philo of Byblus; but were these even freer from interpolations than they appear to be, they would still remain of little value to the historian, because they are the least important part of the entire works of Sanconiathon; namely, the cosmogony and theogony with which he commenced his treatise.

A writer, lately deceased, has attempted to open a new source of information respecting the geography and commerce of the Phœnicians,[2] by maintaining that the geography of Ptolemy, and the old maps of Agathodæmon, which are joined to it in the manuscripts, derive their origin from an ancient Phœnician atlas, and consequently give the most complete picture of the geography and commercial routes of that people. The principles of criticism, however, which I have prescribed to myself in the present work, have not allowed me to make an unreserved use of these, as yet unproved, discoveries. I have therefore con-

[1] Joseph. *Op.* p. 1042. ed. Colon. 1691. cf. Fabric. *B. Gr.* i. p. 166. The fragments of Tyrian annals, preserved in Josephus, prove that these records were purely historic, and written according to the succession of kings, in a carefully determined chronological order; and that they must not, therefore, be classed with the fabulous relations of the Egyptians and Hindoos. Besides, as upon Alexander's conquest of Tyre, the city was not destroyed, and the great temple of Hercules, in which probably they were deposited, was anxiously saved from violence, the preservation of these documents cannot be considered strange.

[2] *Entdeckungen im Alterthum*, versucht von N. H. Brehmer, M. D. Weimar, 1822. (Studies in Antiquity, by N. H. Brehmer, etc.) The first part comprises Asia, and the second, Europe: these are all that have appeared

tented myself with referring the reader to them where it appeared necessary. I have adopted this course the more readily, because, as far as they relate to Asia, the commercial routes which they lay down, although much more numerous, are, with some exceptions, on the farther side of India, the same in their general direction as those which will be found described upon my early maps of Asia, and proved from other authorities. With regard to the conjectures of the author, I have thought it most convenient to give my opinion upon them in an appendix at the end of the volume.

PHŒNICIANS.

CHAPTER I.

Internal Condition and Government of the Phœnicians.

WHO HATH TAKEN THIS COUNSEL AGAINST TYRE, THE DISTRIBUTER OF CROWNS, WHOSE MERCHANTS ARE PRINCES? ISAIAH xxiii. 8.

THE Phœnicians were a branch of the great Semetic or Aramean family of nations, which, at an epoch beyond the reach of history, occupied the extensive plains between the Mediterranean Sea and the Tigris, the most southern point of Arabia and the Caucasian mountains, and whose common descent is fully established by the use of one principal language, divided into various dialects. Much, too, in the government of the Phœnicians will appear in a clearer light by our considering them, not as a distinct people, but as composed of Syrian tribes which had settled on the coasts; and in no ancient writer are they ever found distinguished by name from them. It appears likely that they came originally from Arabia;[1] probably the native country of the Semetic tribes in general, although in other regions, according to local circumstances, they adopted a different mode of life from the one they had been accustomed to in the sandy deserts of their parent country. The migrations of rude hordes at this early period is, however, a matter of very little consequence.

Phœnicia proper, even in its most flourishing state, was one of the smallest countries of antiquity. It comprised that part of the Syrian coast extending from Tyre to Aradus, a narrow strip of land about a hundred and twenty miles in length, from north to south; and probably no where more than eighteen or twenty miles in width. This short

[1] See the inquiry in MICHAELIS *Spicileg. Geograph. Hebr. exter.* Vol. I. p. 166, etc.

line of coast, rich in bays and harbours, was covered with lofty mountains, many of which ran out into the sea and formed promontories, and whose heights, covered with forests, supplied the most valuable material in the construction of the fleets and habitations of the Phœnicians. The larger range of these mountains bore the name of Libanus, from which another branch, the Antilibanus, stretched easterly towards Syria.[2] The sea, which broke with great fury upon this rocky shore, had probably separated some of these promontories from the main land, and which, forming little islands at a small distance from the shore, are not less worthy of note than the main land itself, being every where covered with extensive colonies and flourishing cities. Thus Aradus, the most northern frontier city of Phœnicia, was built on one of these islands;[3] and opposite to it on the main land was Antaradus, which derived its name from it. About eighteen miles to the south of this stood, and stills stands, Tripolis; and at a like distance, Byblus, with the temple of Adonis; and again, further south, Berytus. Keeping along the coast, we come to Sidon at nearly the same distance; and finally, fourteen or fifteen miles further, at the extreme southern boundary of the country, was erected, upon another island, the stately Tyre, the queen of Phœnician cities. The space between these places was covered with a number of towns of less import, but equally the abode of industry, and widely celebrated for their arts and manufactures. Among these were Sarephta, Botrys, Orthosia, and others; forming, as it were, one unbroken city, extending along the whole line of coast and over the islands; and which, with the harbours and sea-ports, and the numerous fleets lying within them, must have afforded altogether a spectacle scarcely to be equalled in the world, and must have excited in the stranger who visited them, the highest idea of the opulence, the power, and the enterprising spirit of the inhabitants.

Although these cities existed altogether in the flourishing period of Phœnicia, history has given us some account of the manner and time of their successive foundations. They

[2] STRABO, p. 1095.

[3] The Arvath of the Hebrews. The authorities for this and the next remark, will be found in CELLAR. *Geogr. Ant.* ii. p. 350, 374, etc.

were colonies of one another; and, like all other colonies of the ancient world, were founded either for purposes of trade, or by bodies of citizens who left their native abode in consequence of civil dissensions. The oldest of them, "the first-born son of Canaan," according to the Mosaic record,[4] was Sidon, the foundress of the trade and navigation of the Phœnicians. Sidon was the parent of Tyre. In the first place, merely as a staple for her own wares; but the daughter soon waxed greater than the mother, and successfully rivalled her. In the blooming period of Phœnicia, Sidon was only the second Phœnician city in point of extent, though still rich and mighty, and secured in a great measure by her excellent harbours from ruin and decline, so long as the maritime commerce of the Phœnicians should endure.[5] Arvath was founded by another colony from Sidon, and owed its origin to a civil broil in this city, which drove the discontented party to seek a new abode.[6] Tripolis, as its name imports, was a common colony of the three cities of Tyre, Sidon, and Aradus.[7]

The eldest Tyre, founded by Sidon, and situated on the main land, continued a powerful, rich, and flourishing commercial city till the time of Nebuchadnezzar, the Babylonian-Chaldean conqueror; against whom it had to defend itself during a siege or blockade of thirteen years;[8] but that he in reality ever took or destroyed it, as is commonly asserted, there is no historical proof.[9] During this blockade, the greater part of the inhabitants took refuge upon a neighbouring island, already furnished with numerous establishments and buildings,[10] and thus founded the island city of

[4] GEN. x. 15. cf. BOCHART et MICHAELIS ad. h. l.
[5] STRAB. p. 1097. [6] Ibid. p. 1093. [7] Ibid. p. 1094.
[8] About the year B. C. 600.
[9] See GESENIUS, *Commentar zum Jesaias*, i. p. 710. The capture of Tyre by Nebuchadnezzar is confirmed by no Phœnician or Greek writer; it rests upon the prophecy of Ezekiel alone, c. xxvi.; but a later oracle of the same prophet, xxix. 18, shows that the attempt to subdue it failed. The total silence of historians upon this subject is expressly referred to by HIERONYMUS, *ad Ezech.* xxvi. 7, who rests the capture entirely upon the authority of the oracle; as do all later writers.
[10] It is a false assumption to say, that the island city of Tyre had its first rise about this time. The island afforded more security than the continent, and it will be presently shown, that it was a usual custom of the Phœnicians to settle upon islands. That the island city was much older is clear from JOSEPHUS, *Opera*, p. 325, for Psalmanasser had already besieged it about

Tyre, which, favoured by its strong position, soon equalled the parent city, and not only outlived the Babylonian and Persian empires, but continued to increase as the ancient Tyre declined. It was finally captured by Alexander, after an obstinate resistance; but he robbed it less of its ancient opulence and splendour by his arms, than by the foundation of Alexandria, which henceforth became the great seat of the commerce of the world, though Tyre did not altogether decline. In the midst of this city stood the temple of the principal deity of the Tyrians, the protecting god of the city, as its name, Melcarth,[11] signifies. This deity was called by the Greeks the Tyrian Hercules, though entirely different[12] from their god bearing the same name; hence the mythi of the two are often confounded. The worship of the Tyrian deity was introduced into the most distant parts of the world to which that people penetrated and founded settlements; he was honoured as the national god by the independent colonies of Tyre, who were wont to acknowledge his supremacy by solemn embassies.[13] The city

B. C. 730, at which time the Ancient Tyre, with the other cities, shook off her yoke: it must therefore at that time have been the chief city.

[11] Melcarth, *the city king*. For further information, see the learned work of CREUZER, *Symbolik*, ii. 211, etc., second edition.

[12] Herodotus, ii. 44. Although this author very properly notices this difference, yet the passage here quoted seems to imply, that this deity was called Hercules by the Tyrians themselves. But it was doubtless out of complaisance to the Greeks, that the Phœnician priests in addressing them thus named him; for his native appellation was, in all likelihood, very different. According to the accounts given by the Phœnician priests to Herodotus, 2300 years had already elapsed since the foundation of the city of Tyre, and that of the temple, which took place at the same time (about the year 2740 B. C.). This ancient temple, however, had long before been destroyed to give place to the new one constructed by Hiram, the contemporary of Solomon. (JOSEPH. *contra Apion.*, *Op.* p. 1043.) It was this new temple, which stood upon the island Tyre, that Herodotus saw, about 550 years later: now, as we learn from the passage of Josephus, quoted from Menander, that Hiram took down the ancient temples of Melcarth and Astarte and built new ones; that he encompassed the great square of the city, (*χώσας τὸν εὐρυχώρον,*) and compelled the Tyrians to pay him the disputed tribute; we cannot well be mistaken in regarding him as the original founder of the island city of Tyre, and as having, in opposition to the wishes of the inhabitants of the ancient Tyre, made it the capital. This is expressly confirmed by another passage in JOSEPHUS, *Ant.* viii. 3, 5, p. 259, 267, where it is said of Hiram, that he dwelt on an island. However this may have been, there is here a clear proof, that it was altogether in the spirit of antiquity to connect the foundation of cities with that of temples and sanctuaries; an observation more fully developed in my *Researches on Egypt.*

[13] An example of this is given by the Carthaginians, who sent an embassy at the moment that Tyre was besieged by Alexander. ARRIAN, ii. 24. Tem-

was protected by high walls of cut stone; and had two harbours, one on the north towards Sidon, the other on the south towards Egypt. The mouth of the latter could be closed by immense chains.[14]

Let us now inquire what was the internal government of these cities? What their relation with each other? Whether they formed one general confederation? or whether they remained entirely separate states, without any common tie? These questions demand our serious attention.

The remarks above made upon the nature of the country readily explain why the Phœnicians could never become a conquering nation, and the founders of a great monarchy, such as that of the Chaldeans, the Persians, and others. They must have been well satisfied, if they could protect their little territory from the invasions of such powerful Asiatic conquerors; and being, from the earliest times downwards, a people dwelling in cities,[15] they could have had no idea of taking the long marauding expeditions common to nomad nations.

In order to obtain a correct idea of the political state of Phœnicia, it is necessary to have a general notion of the rise and progress of civil government among the Syrian tribes. As far as the light of history carries us back, we every where find a number of single cities, with the territory around them, under a monarchical form of government; the sovereign power being placed in the hands of kings or princes. Examples certainly are to be met with, where some of these cities and their monarchs obtained a decided preponderance, (Damascus is at once an instance,) and assumed to themselves a degree of authority. This, however, was a kind of forced alliance, which extended no further than the exaction of tribute and subsidies in times of war, without depriving the subjected cities of their government and rulers.[16] Syria, while independent and left to itself, never became organized into one state, or one monarchy.

ples of the Tyrian Hercules were found in Gades, and upon the island of Thasos. HEROD. l. c.

[14] ARRIAN, ii. 24.

[15] They appear as such in the early times of Moses and Joshua, upon the invasion of the Israelites.

[16] Proofs of it may be found in the Jewish accounts of the kings of Damascus, and their wars: Compare 1 KINGS, xx. 1, etc.

Here then we trace the ground-work of the Phœnician government. This country, like Syria, never became one state; but, from the earliest period down to the Persian monarchy, was always divided into a number of separate cities, each with its little territory around it. Some writers have stated positively the precise extent of the dominions of each city. Thus Antaradus, and the territory about it, formed part of the domain of Aradus, to which it lay opposite;[17] thus Sarephta came within the dominion of Sidon;[18] etc.

Allied cities, however, were certainly frequent in Phœnicia; indeed it seems very probable, that at certain times, all the cities of Phœnicia formed one confederation, at the head of which stood originally Sidon, and afterwards Tyre. Even as early as the Mosaic period, alliances among these cities were common;[19] the necessity of their common defence from foreign attack, which separately they were too weak to withstand, must naturally have led to this system. Neither were these confederations confined to Phœnicia alone; they prevailed also in the countries colonized by the Phœnicians; and Carthage in Africa, as well as Gades in Spain, stood at the head of the settlements in these districts, without, however, obtaining a complete authority over them.[20] A common religion, the worship of the Tyrian Hercules, the national and colonial deity, formed likewise a bond of union for all these cities, both of the mother country and the colonies, and strengthened and preserved the connexion between them.

It is the nature, however, of all such confederations, to be liable to frequent changes; they vary indeed according to the political interests, and even the power and views of the separate states. Many changes of this kind must have arisen in this quarter, by the foundation and growing prosperity of the inland colonies; and many modifications must have taken place as these acquired sufficient strength to assume a kind of independence of the parent states. In the present case, in which we shall confine our observations to the flourishing period of Tyre,—that is, the period from Solomon to Cyrus, or at least Nebuchadnezzar,—it will be

[17] STRABO, p. 1093. ARRIAN, ii. 13. [18] 1 KINGS, xvii. 9, 10.
[19] JOSHUA, ii. 1—5. [20] See *Researches on the Carthaginians.*

sufficient to show that Tyre, in the sense just stated, was always the dominant city of Phœnicia.

This may be inferred, in the first place, from the description given of Tyre by the prophet Ezekiel. Sidon and Arvath were at this time her allies, and supplied their contingents of soldiers and sailors.[21] This being proved of the largest and most distant city of Phœnicia, no doubt can be well entertained respecting the smaller and nearer.

Besides, the subjects and allies of Tyre, and their revolts against the capital, are more than once expressly spoken of in history. The most striking proof of this is preserved in Josephus, from the works of Menander. For when king Salmanasser undertook his expedition into Western Asia and against Phœnicia, the allied cities, Sidon, Old Tyre, Acre, and many others, revolted against the Tyrians, and submitted to the king of Assyria. They went so far indeed as to fit out a fleet against them, which was defeated by the Tyrians, who thus secured themselves from further danger.[22]

By comparing these fragments of Phœnician history and its government with the accounts that are left us respecting the state of Carthage, we obtain something more than bare historical conjecture, as we find a striking similarity between the government of the mother country and the colonies. What Tyre was towards Sidon, Arvath, Tripolis, etc., Carthage was towards Utica, Leptis, Adrumetum, and other cities. It not only seems quite natural, that in cities inhabited by one people, and so frequently called upon to struggle against their common and powerful enemies, alliances should be formed, and by alliances a kind of authority be conceded to the mightiest; but it is also consonant with the whole tenor of ancient history, that colonies should adopt the government of the mother state.

It may be concluded then from these facts, that the Phœnician cities formed together one confederation: at the head of which, in the period of their greatest splendour and perfect independence, stood Tyre. At the time of their subjection to Assyria and Persia, the bond that connected

[21] Ezekiel, xxvii. 8, 11.

[22] Joseph. *Ant. Jud.* ix. 14. *Op.* p. 306. This also explains the resistance which Tyre always made against the most famous conquerors, even Alexander himself, when the other Phœnician cities voluntarily submitted. The latter were oppressed while Tyre ruled.

them necessarily became loosened, the other cities paid their tribute and furnished their contingents to Persia instead of to Tyre; the latter, however, still preserved its rank, and was always considered the chief city of the land.

The second question, namely, *What was the internal government of the Phœnician cities?* is equally difficult and obscure.

However desirable it may be to trace out accurately the gradual rise and progress of civic government in these, the earliest commercial cities, want of information limits us to a few general observations.

First, then, there can be no doubt but that each Phœnician city had its own proper government, and that in this respect they were perfectly independent of each other. They always appear so, as the following pages will evince, upon every occasion, and in every period of their history; being never spoken of but as separate states.

Secondly, It seems equally certain, that the chief authority was placed in the hands of kings, and certainly of hereditary kings, although political parties many times fomented revolutions by which new families were raised to the throne. This is especially shown by the history of Tyre; a catalogue of whose kings is extant in Josephus, from the time of Hiram, the contemporary of David, till the siege of the city by Nebuchadnezzar.[23] Even under the dominion of the Persians, the royal dignity was preserved; though the monarchs were now only tributary princes, obliged to furnish money and ships to the Persians, and to attend them, when required, in their military expeditions. The kings of Tyre appear in this state in the expedition of the Persians against Athens,[24] and even as late as the overthrow of Persia and the capture of Tyre by Alexander.[25] As Tyre had its proper kings, so also had the other Phœnician cities, Sidon, Aradus, and Byblus.[26] These are mentioned in various periods, and even as late as the Macedonian conquest.

Thirdly, Notwithstanding the existence of the royal

[23] JOSEPHUS *contra Apion.* i. *Op.* p. 1043.

[24] HERODOTUS, viii. 67. The kings of Sidon and Tyre formed part of Xerxes' council of war; the former taking precedence of the latter, at the command of Xerxes. Was this merely personal? or according to the rank of the cities, among whom Sidon, as the parent city, stood at the head?

[25] ARRIAN, ii. 24. [26] Ibid. ii. 20.

dignity, the government was certainly not despotic; nay, the monarchical power was so strictly limited as to render it almost republican. It was indeed well-nigh impossible that despotism could have endured for so many centuries in commercial states, which can only thrive in the atmosphere of political liberty. A large maritime commerce requires a spirit of enterprise and resolute activity altogether incompatible with despotic government. Even the repeated political changes which took place in all these cities, and more particularly in Tyre; as well as the continual departure of colonies and their settlement in distant parts of the world; are circumstances which not only could not have been brought forth by despotism, but are the legitimate offspring of free nations. Many particulars which warrant this conclusion may still be found in Phœnician history, notwithstanding the general scantiness of its information.

Next to the kings stood the Phœnician magistrates.[27] These conjointly sent ambassadors.[28] Indeed, at certain periods, a general congress of the great Phœnician cities was wont to be held, when the kings in council with the synedrims, deliberated upon the common affairs of the confederacy.[29] Tripolis was the place destined for the common assembly of the three principal cities.

Besides this, there is no question but the authority of the monarchs was very essentially limited by religion. The priests in these states formed a numerous and powerful class, and seem to have stood next in rank to the kings. Sicharbas, or Sichæus, the chief priest of the principal temple, was the husband of Dido, and brother-in-law to king Pygmalion. His persecution and death by the latter, gave rise to those serious commotions which ended in the emigration of that numerous colony which founded the city of Carthage. The political influence of the Phœnician priests of Baal among the Jews, which caused a revolution in the

[27] ARRIAN, ii. 24, who calls them τοὺς ἐν τέλει. [28] ARRIAN, ii. 15.

[29] DIOD. ii. p. 113. As when a council was held respecting the revolt from the Persians. Even the very circumstance that some of the Tyrian kings, as for example Pygmalion, were named tyrants, seems to prove that they should not all be considered such. There is mention, too, of a time when the kingly dignity was entirely banished from Tyre, and its place supplied by that of suffetes. This was after the ineffectual siege of Nebuchadnezzar. JOSEPH. *Op.* 1046.

state, is sufficiently well known.[30] Among a people like the Phœnicians, where every thing so much depended on sanctuaries and religion, the priesthood could scarcely fail to have a large share in the government, though we are not in a situation to determine precisely its extent.

The prophet Ezekiel, in his prophecy against the king of Tyre, gives us a somewhat deep insight into the power of the prince of that city. He pictures him as a powerful prince, living in great splendour; but still as the prince of a commercial city, which by its trade filled his treasury. As a prince encouraging and protecting commerce by his wisdom and policy; but which, in the end, degenerating to craft and injustice, he is threatened with the punishment of his misdeeds. "With thy wisdom and with thy understanding," he cries out, "hast thou gotten thee riches; with gold and silver hast thou filled thy treasury by means of the greatness of thy commerce. Full of wisdom sealedst thou great sums; thou dwelt in a garden of God, ornamented from thine infancy with precious stones, clothed with fine garments. But traffic has enriched thee with ill-gotten wealth, and thou hast sinned."[31] From this remarkable passage it may at least be gathered, that the revenue of the Tyrian kings, and without doubt that of the princes of the other cities also, was derived from commerce; but whether from the customs, or, which seems more probable, from a monopoly of some of the branches of trade, or from both, cannot be decided.

These few observations contain the sum of what information is left us concerning the internal government of these mighty cities; and even of these few, some are only conjectures. We are rather better instructed respecting their foreign relations and colonies, and these we shall now proceed to investigate.

[30] How numerous they were appears from 1 KINGS, xviii. 22.

[31] EZEKIEL, xxviii. 4, 5, 12, 13, 16. Conf. MICHAELIS's *Translation and Remarks.* Among the precious stones (verse 13) nine sorts are mentioned by name, as the onyx, carbuncle, topaz, diamond, emerald, etc.; a proof of the high pitch to which the luxury of the great of Tyre was carried in this particular.

PHŒNICIANS.

CHAPTER II.

Colonies and Foreign Possessions of the Phœnicians.

ARISE, O THOU DAUGHTER OF SIDON, TAKE THY FLIGHT TO THE ISLES OF CHITTIM. ISAIAH xxiii. 12.

One of the most interesting spectacles which history affords us, is the spread of nations by peaceable colonization. Despotic empires, which are only enlarged by conquest, exhibit to us no picture of this kind: the forcible transplanting of nations, a custom common to them, could never become the foundation of flourishing colonies, attended, as they at all times are, by oppression, and often by the dispersion of the captives carried away. If we look into these colonies, they will generally be found of a military cast, and intended rather, as in the Macedonian, Roman, and Russian monarchies, to guard the provinces of the empire, than for the cultivation of the land. Commercial nations, on the contrary, especially when under the auspices of civil liberty, extend their navigation to distant regions;—Phœnicians and Greeks, not less than the British and Dutch, soon discover the necessity for foreign settlements; and notwithstanding all the abuses to which they are liable, abuses which the historian cannot mistake, it is still undeniable, that not only their own civilization, but, in a great measure, the civilization of the whole human race, depend very much upon these peaceful means of advancement. The continual intercourse with their colonies enlivens and extends the knowledge of the mother states; and besides this, it infallibly promotes the development of political ideas, and what is founded upon it, the perfecting of civil government. The portion of the people separated from the parent country undergo some change in every new settlement, as the differ-

ence in the nature of the country, and favourable or unfavourable circumstances necessarily give a new direction to the mind. In such cases, where society in a manner sets out anew, many improvements are easily and necessarily made, which could scarcely be adopted where every thing is become fixed and settled; and though it generally happens that colonies copy, in the first place, the government of the mother state, yet the difference of their foreign relations, and the enlarged sphere of action which their necessities open to them, soon lead them to different views. It is from the bosom of colonies that civil liberty nearly in all ages has set forth: Greece had no Solon till the colonies of Asia Minor had attained their highest degree of splendour; and while the parent country could only boast of a single legislator, whose object was to form citizens, and not merely warriors, nearly every colony of Greece and Sicily possessed its Zaleucus or Charondas. In this way, indeed, every commercial state may be said to live again in the colonies it has founded. And thus, amid the rise and fall of empires, the advances of man in civilization, in all its multitudinous forms, is perpetuated and secured. Tyre and Sidon yielded to their fate, but they had the happiness before their fall, to see flourishing around them, in their hundreds of colonies, a numerous progeny. And though Europe should again experience the dreadful misfortune to sink under the yoke of despotism or anarchy, into the gloomy horrors of barbarism, Providence has provided for its re-birth, by scattering the seeds of its civilization over every part of the globe; exhibiting in our days the astonishing spectacle, never before displayed, of ripened civilization in one part, while in others it is yet in blossom, or only pushing forth its earliest buds.

To counterbalance these great benefits, the system of colonization has in every age been attended with disadvantages equally striking. It leads to thirst of conquest and commercial jealousy; and, unfortunately, has it not too often been the fate of nations founding colonies, to sicken of this double malady, and perish under its influence.

Thirst of conquest seems above all to be opposed to the interests of commercial states. Friendship and peace with the nations with whom they have dealings, would appear the most likely means of keeping their ports open, and of ob-

taining commodities with which to freight their vessels. But unfortunately it has never been thus; in ancient as in modern times, subjection has been the cry of the strongest, and with this upon their lips, the Carthaginians subjugated Spain; the Spaniards, America; and the British, India.

It cannot be denied, but that, in numerous instances, the blind desire of aggrandizement, or even plunder, has been the object of these conquests; but quite as often, perhaps oftener, this desire of conquest sprung out of the peaceable system of spreading the human race by colonies. In trading with distant countries, and especially with rude, uncivilized nations, these kind of settlements are indispensable to the carrying on a secure and regular commerce; but even these are almost sure to give rise to disputes, by the aggressions of one party or the other; little bickerings grow into violent disputes; these lead to open war, which only ends with the subjugation of the natives, or the destruction of the colonies.

The extent to which commercial jealousy was carried at a very early period, is shown in my Researches upon the Commerce of the Carthaginians; the Carthaginians inherited it from their ancestors, who, even in the time of Herodotus, threw all the mystery they could over their distant navigation. This rivalry led to wars whenever powerful competitors started up, such as the Carthaginians found in the Greeks. The Phœnicians, on the contrary, had the good fortune to enjoy the sea trade of the Mediterranean for centuries, without any powerful competitor. As the Greeks of Asia Minor began to acquire importance, these ancient merchants seemed rather inclined to shun, than contend with them; and they came less frequently in contact, as their principal maritime commerce lay in different regions.

So far therefore as we may judge from the information before us, the Phœnicians appear to have been less entangled in commercial wars than their descendants the Carthaginians, or the British and Dutch of modern times. Yet, that they did not keep entirely clear of war and conquest, though their circumscribed territory, fortunately for them, rendered it impossible for them to think of making large conquests;—that they had the will, though not the means, may be gleaned from numerous particulars scattered in their history. For though the extent of their population did not

allow of their raising large armies from among themselves, they very early adopted the system of carrying on their wars by means of hired troops: a system to which all commercial states have had, and always must have, recourse in their continental wars,—and one which their colonists, the Carthaginians, carried on to a much wider extent. It is not merely the relatively small number of idle and useless men, nor the facility of procuring the means of subsistence, which prevents the formation of powerful armies in such states; we must also take into account the little consideration in which soldiers are held in countries where the merchant is every thing, and especially in republics, where the hired soldier is regarded as the paid servant of the citizens.

In much the same manner, therefore, that Carthage hired troops from almost every part of Africa and Europe, did Tyre hire them from the countries of Minor and Upper Asia. The other Phœnician states also furnished their contingents, both of land and marine forces. From these states were taken the garrison of Tyre itself, to which was confided the care and security of the city. "They of Persia, of Lydia, and of Lycia were thy warriors; they hanged their shields and helmet in thee; they of Arvad were in thine army about thy walls, and kept watch before thy gates; they hanged their shields upon thy towers, and have thus made thee illustrious."[1] It is probable, however, that foreign mercenaries were only employed upon extraordinary occasions, when these states were engaged in foreign wars.

It has already been remarked, that the situation of Phœnicia rendered it impossible for its inhabitants to extend their territory in Asia by conquest; but a wide range was open to them in the neighbouring isles of the Mediterranean; and of all these none seems to have had greater attractions for them than the nearest and largest—the isle of Cyprus.[2] It is not only certain that the Tyrians established themselves in this island, but also that they made it one of their provinces; for the Cyprians rebelled against Tyre with its other subjects, when Salmanasser invaded Syria. The city of Cittium was the principal settlement of the Tyrians

[1] EZEKIEL, xxvii. 10, 11.

[2] JOSEPH. *Ant. Jud.* ix. 14; cf. MICHAEL. *Spicil.* i. p. 106.

upon this island, which they named after this city,[3] as they did also the smaller islands of the Archipelago and the coasts; they still however had colonies in the other cities of the island.[4] Even afterwards, when Tyre had lost all dominion over her, Cyprus and Tyre stood in the closest alliance; and this is particularly visible in the time of Alexander, who regarded the subjugation of Cyprus, with its nine cities and their nine monarchs or chiefs, as a natural and inevitable consequence of the capture of Tyre.[5]

It is even more difficult to point out the exact relations which the Phœnicians maintained with their other colonies than it is with Cyprus. Nevertheless the fragments of their history, considered together, afford us several particulars, strikingly characteristic of the genius and policy of that people.

First. The system of extending themselves by colonization was very clearly a natural consequence of their trade, which absolutely required such settlements. But besides this, their history proves that they considered it as the surest and most convenient method of preventing disturbances and revolutions at home, which would naturally result from the disproportionate increase of population in so small, and yet so commercial a country.[6] An overgrown population is commonly the curse of large trading cities; and it is this evil in particular which renders violent revolutions so dreadful; hence its increase is necessarily dangerous, and should be guarded against. The republican states of the ancient world soon became acquainted with this evil; and the most natural remedy which presented itself to them, was to lessen

[3] There can be no doubt that כִּתִּים (Kittim) is identical with Cittium; and that it signified not only the whole island, but also the neighbouring islands and coasts, is clear from JOSEPHUS, *Arch.* i. 7. *Op.* p. 13. We learn further from CICERO, *De Fin.* iv. 20, that Cittium was a Phœnician, and not a Greek colony. See GESENIUS, *Commentar zum Jesaias*, i. p. 721, etc.

[4] The authorities will be found collected in BOCHART, p. 370, etc. cf. STRABO, p. 1003. Vestiges of the Phœnician settlements upon this island still exist; one, for example, in the Phœnician epitaph discovered by M. V. HAMMER, *Topograph. Ansichten in der Levante*, p. 154.

[5] ARRIAN, ii. 17.

[6] It will be seen in the part of this work relating to the Carthaginians, that this was likewise a prevailing maxim among that people; and when the great resemblance of the colonial system of the two nations is considered, no doubt can be entertained of the Carthaginians having inherited it from the Phœnicians. But this reason is expressly stated as the cause of the foundation of Utica. JUSTIN. xviii. 4.

the number of the people by colonization. The following up of this system, and the want of foreign settlements for the purposes of trade, would at once satisfactorily account for the astonishing spread of this nation by colonies, even if their history did not show that internal commotions, notwithstanding this precaution, were the occasion of new emigrations, by forcing the weaker and discontented party to leave their country and seek a foreign abode; an example of which occurs in the history of the foundation of Carthage.

Secondly. The direction of Phœnician colonization, was from east to west along the shores of the Mediterranean. Their sea trade, from the situation of their country, could proceed in no other; and we are led by the remains of early traditions, which have been preserved from the ancient history of this people, to conclude, that this was the route pursued. For what else was that Tyrian Hercules, of whose expedition to Iberia, to make war upon the son of Chrysaor, the rich-in-gold, we have an account, if not the tutelary god, first of the mother city, then of the colonies also; and thus generally the *symbol* of the Phœnician race? And the history of his expeditions along the coasts of the Mediterranean, what is it, if not an allegorical relation of the outspread of the people by trade and navigation, and of the general civilization which resulted therefrom?

All these traditions are handed down to us through Greek poets and mythologists, and have been changed by them in various ways, and even confounded with others, in order to fit in and form part of their epic poems and narrations. But notwithstanding this, the pure mythos seems to have been preserved to us almost in its original shape by Diodorus.[7]

[7] The passage of Diodorus will be found in his works, i. p. 262, etc. The expedition of Hercules into Spain is there given as the tenth of his labours; the whole narrative of Diodorus, however, if not immediately taken from Timæus, is evidently borrowed from a Greek epic poet, who has transferred the Phœnician tradition of the Tyrian Hercules to the Greek deity of the same name, with only such alterations as were necessary to the plot of his poem. This opinion obtains no small confirmation from what DIODORUS, *Op.* i. p. 344, relates of the inhabitants of the Balearic islands, among whom a tradition prevailed, that Hercules had conquered the country of Geryon on account of its treasures in silver and gold; they therefore forbade the introduction of these metals into their islands, that they might not excite the cupidity of conquerors. They therefore explained the mythos in this way, being themselves of Phœnician origin.

The attempt to clear up and explain every particular of this fable would be doing violence to the manes of remote antiquity. Some of the principal features of this allegory I shall, nevertheless, venture to expose, fearless of incurring this reproach.

Hercules is said to have undertaken his expedition with a numerous fleet, which assembled at Crete; an island forming, as will presently be seen, one of the principal links of the Phœnician chain of colonies. Its object was Spain, the country abounding in gold, and where Chrysaor, the father of Geryon, reigned. Hercules passed through Africa, where he introduced agriculture, and built the great city of Hecatompylos.[8] He thus came to the strait, which he crossed over to Gades. Spain submitted to him, and he carried away the oxen of Geryon as booty; taking his way back through Gaul, Italy, and the islands of Sicily and Sardinia.

The principal features of this allegory seem scarcely to require an explanation. It is only among a maritime people that this mythos could have been formed, as a fleet is fitted out for the undertaking. That this took place at Crete, the most convenient island, shows that the party did not extend their views toward the western Mediterranean, until they had well established their dominion over the eastern islands. Neither did they undertake these expeditions for the mere purpose of destruction and conquest. They carried civilization with them; they instructed the barbarians in the art of agriculture, and accustomed them to fixed dwellings. And where did this take place?—Precisely in those countries which were colonized by the Phœnicians; that is, in Africa, Sicily, and Sardinia. But the express object of this expedition was, that very land which was the main source of Phœnician wealth, and the principal seat of its trade; namely, the southern and western parts of Spain. Thus the traditions, as they have been handed down to us by the poets, are in accordance with the historical facts. The Phœnicians gradually spread themselves round the coasts of the Mediterranean. They came at last to the pillars of Hercules, and even went beyond them. But in every part their

[8] Hecatompylos was a large city in the interior of the Carthaginian dominions, which was afterwards conquered by them. DIODOR. i. p. 265.

colonies were confined to the sea coast, and hence it may fairly be concluded, that they owed their foundation to commerce.

Thirdly. These colonial cities were spread in a very unequal manner along the coasts of the Mediterranean, being in some districts crowded and numerous, while in other parts there were but few or none. Like the English and Dutch, the Phœnicians had their colonial dominions, which of course were precisely those which they made the principal seats of their trade. To these more especially belonged the territory of Carthage, on the northern coast of Africa, and the southern and western parts of Spain. Their settlements were more rare on the great islands of the western Mediterranean, Sicily and Sardinia, which they seem to have regarded only as stations for their more distant navigation, and which therefore were the same to them in their voyages to Gades and the pillars of Hercules, as is the Cape of Good Hope to our modern navigators in their way to India.

Fourthly. Commercial jealousy, though they avoided as much as possible all collision, arose out of the colonial system of the Phœnicians. The Greeks were the first nation with whom they came in contact; and this must have happened as soon as that people became powerful on the Mediterranean. Yet a comparison of the situation of the Greek and Phœnician colonies would almost lead one to conclude, that a tacit agreement had existed between the two nations, to keep as much as possible out of each other's way.

They ceded voluntarily, as it were, to the Greeks many countries which in high antiquity they seem to have colonized. They left to them the coasts of Asia Minor and the Black Sea; they abandoned to them Southern Italy and the greatest part of the Sicilian coast; and they scarcely interfered with them on the shores of Gaul. But it must be remembered, on the other hand, that they would suffer no Greek settlement in *their* colonial dominions, where in general they would not endure foreigners. The stories respecting their sacrificing strangers to their gods, seem, supposing them fables, to have been imagined and spread abroad, for the purpose of keeping foreigners from their settlements.

Fifthly. It seems natural to suppose that a close con-

nexion must always have been kept up between colonies, indebted to commerce for their origin with the parent state; indeed a kind of dependence upon the latter. But the great and difficult art of keeping their colonies in subjection, so well understood by their descendants, the Carthaginians, seems never to have been known in an equal degree by the Phœnicians. Their colonies, favoured by their fortunate situation, grew beyond their management, and soon became independent, if they were not so from the first. It requires but little reflection to account for this. The Phœnicians, like many of the commercial nations who have come after them, extended their dominion beyond what their power would suffice to maintain in authority. To this it may be added, that Tyre was not situated like Carthage in the centre of her colonies; consequently, though she might have been able to raise armies equally numerous, yet she could not so easily make them effective. Carthage, almost without effort, could transport her armies to Sicily and Sardinia; Britain in the present day can send out forces to India; but if Tyre had made the attempt to carry an Asiatic army to Spain, it is probable she would have failed. If we except therefore the neighbouring island of Cyprus and others, and a few of the most important at a greater distance, especially the settlements containing mines worked by the natives, it will be found, that the relations of Tyre with her colonies were limited to the ties of commerce, and the obligations imposed by their mutual piety: the latter were never neglected; the former were most carefully preserved; and religion furnished a strong band, which knit the whole together. This band was the common worship of the national gods by common feasts and sacrifices, at which ambassadors, sent expressly by the different cities, joined and assisted. Was not this policy, though generated, as perhaps it was, by circumstances, the wisest, best, and most rational, which the Phœnicians, in their situation, could follow? They gave up nothing by so doing, but what after a great expense of blood and treasure they would have been compelled to relinquish. The ports of their colonies were open to them; and they enjoyed for centuries all the valuable blessings which a peaceable and undisturbed commerce is wont to bestow.

Sixthly. The period at which the Phœnician colonies were founded can only be determined in a general manner. That of the building of Carthage is still uncertain. There can, however, be no doubt, that the establishment of some of the settlements, beyond the sea, took place in the deepest antiquity. Should even the early foundation of Tartessus and Gades be doubted, there can be no question respecting the migration of Cadmus to Bœotia, and the building of Thebes; facts which prove, that 1500 years before the Christian era, Phœnician colonies had crossed the seas. The foundation of most of them, however, certainly took place in the flourishing period of Phœnicia, during which the trade and navigation of Tyre made such wonderful advances; that is, from the reign of David to that of Cyrus, 1000—550, B. C. During this time, according to the best evidence of antiquity, Utica, Carthage, Leptis,[9] etc., were founded; a statement which is further confirmed by the fact, that the greater part of the Phœnician colonies are expressly called colonies of Tyre. Now this city did not acquire much celebrity till about this time, nor till after the period of Homer, who seems not to have been acquainted with it, though he often speaks of Sidon.

I shall now leave these general preliminary observations, and entering rather more into particulars, take a closer view of the Phœnician colonies.[10] It is only by this that an adequate idea of the importance of this nation in the history of the world can be obtained; it will also pave the way to the inquiry respecting their commerce. I shall not here follow the example of Bochart, who has founded his opinions chiefly upon etymologies; but shall take for my guide only the positive evidence which history furnishes.

The islands of the Mediterranean nearest to Phœnicia, as well Cyprus and Crete, as the smaller ones of the Archipelago, the Sporides and the Cyclades; and again, those towards the north, as far as the Hellespont, almost without exception were colonized by Phœnicians. The cities in the isle of Cyprus, according to the testimony of one of the most

[9] See the proofs in BOCHART, p. 373, etc.

[10] In order that he may understand properly the following survey, I must beg of the reader to have continually before him a map of the Mediterranean and the surrounding countries; D'Anville's, if possible.

credible writers, were nearly all of Phœnician origin;[11] it has already been remarked, that the whole island seems to have been reduced to a Phœnician province; and it must have been of the highest importance to that nation, from its supplying them in abundance with all the materials for ship-building. Traces of the Phœnicians in Crete are preserved in the mythology of the island; here also the worship of Hercules was naturalized; and the fable of Europa, of which it was the scene, was certainly of Phœnician origin.[12] The cities of the isle of Rhodes, Jalyssus, Camirus, and Lindus,[13] (Rhodes itself was not built till a later period,) followed the Phœnician worship; and the vestiges of it in the lesser islands of the Archipelago will be found carefully collected in Bochart.[14] This nation also had a considerable establishment in the island of Thasos, on the Thracian coast. They found out in one of their voyages of discovery, that the mountains of this island abounded in gold; this magnet soon attracted them, and they here founded mines—works of which Herodotus saw the shafts and galleries.[15]

Traces also of the Phœnicians are found on the west, and even on the northern coast of Asia Minor. They are said to have founded the cities of Pronectus and Bithynium on the Black Sea and the Propontis;[16] and in the mountains of Pisidia and Caria still dwelt a nation, or rather the remnant of a nation, the Solymes, whose language betrays their Phœnician descent.[17]

The Phœnicians, however, were driven out of all these countries and islands, as the Carian race, and still more so, the Hellenic, spreading out of Greece, filled with their colonies not only the islands, but also the coast of Asia Minor. There is no account of the Phœnicians engaging in any hostilities with the Greeks for the possession of these countries, probably because the principal direction of their sea

[11] DIOD. ii. p. 114.

[12] APOLLOD. iii. 1. If, as HOECK has rendered probable, (*Creta*, p. 83, etc.,) Europa, in the most ancient Phœnician mythos, is to be understood, not as signifying a part of the world, but the Phœnician deity Astarte, whose worship was spread with the Phœnician colonies, this will evidently confirm the interpretation given above of the mythos of the expedition of Hercules.

[13] DIOD. i. p. 377.

[14] BOCHART, p. 406, etc.

[15] HEROD. ii. 44, et vi. 47.

[16] STEPH. de urb. h. v.

[17] Γλῶσσαν μὲν φοίνισσαν ἀπὸ στομάτων ἀφιέντες. JOSEPH. *in Apion.* i. *ex Choerilo Tragico*, p. 1047.

trade lay in other regions, which they considered more productive and more important. Perhaps, indeed, it was their expulsion from these islands which turned their attention to those in the western Mediterranean.

They could have no colonies on the Egyptian coast, because it was a fundamental maxim of the Egyptians to suffer no vessels, either of their own or of foreigners, to enter the mouths of the Nile. To make up for this, however, they had a large settlement in the capital of Egypt itself; one entire quarter of Memphis being inhabited by Phœnicians:[18] a very evident proof that they carried on, by the inhabitants of that quarter of the world, a part in the primitive caravan trade of Eastern Africa.

Perhaps the same cause which led them to retire from Asia Minor kept them out of Italy;[19] for however extraordinary it may appear, not the least trace is here to be found of any Phœnician settlement. Probably it was the Etruscans, rather than the Greeks, who prevented their establishing themselves in this country. On the other hand, they endeavoured with all their might to keep their footing in Sicily, the only place in which they came in direct contact with the Greeks, as declared rivals.

There is one difficulty which attends all modern researches respecting the colonies of the Phœnicians in Sicily, and other parts of the western Mediterranean; and that is, to distinguish between the proper Phœnicians and the Carthaginians, as the Greek writers very frequently designate the latter by the same name. But notwithstanding the mistrust to which this must always give rise, there are decisive proofs that the proper Phœnicians had established settlements in Sicily long before the rise of the Carthaginian power. "Long before the Greeks emigrated into Sicily," says Thucydides,[20] "the Phœnicians had occupied the coasts of that island, and the smaller ones in its neighbourhood; but when the Greeks began to frequent it, they retired to Motya, Soloes, and Panormus." Diodorus's account of the

[18] HEROD. ii. 112.

[19] How much the Carthaginians desired to establish themselves on the Italian coasts, and what efforts were made to prevent it, is shown in the old commercial treaties between Carthage and Rome, which are given in the appendix to the African nations.

[20] THUCYD. vi. 2.

colonies which the proper Phœnicians successively founded,[21] in proportion as their navigation and commerce increased, in Sicily, Sardinia, and the neighbouring islands, is still more conclusive.

When the Carthaginians began to wax great, and to appropriate to themselves the navigation of the western Mediterranean, they usually trod in the footsteps of the parent state, and inherited, as it were, their possessions and establishments, by sending new colonists into the old places which had fallen into decay. It may, therefore, very safely be affirmed, that just those very cities which became the most celebrated of Sicily, (as for example, Motya, Soloes, and Panormus, together with the mountain city of Eryx, where the worship of Astarte, or Venus Erycina, continued a lasting monument of the Phœnicians,[22]) were also among the most ancient Phœnician settlements.

Equally certain, but just as vague, are the accounts respecting their colonies in Sardinia. It was principally for the sake of their intercourse with Spain, that they were so desirous of securing here, as well as in Sicily, stations for their ships to touch at in their long voyages.[23] To the dominion of Sardinia, however, which their successors the Carthaginians obtained, they never, so far as we know, made the least pretension. It was enough for them to maintain themselves in the island; and they could not, like the Carthaginians, transport over numerous armies to subdue the inhabitants.

The Balearic islands lay just in their way, and could not remain unknown. Indeed, according to a direct statement of Diodorus, they were first occupied by the Phœnicians, one hundred and fifty years after the building of Carthage.[24] We know not upon what data this chronological statement is grounded; and it is impossible to determine from the words of this author, whether he is speaking of the proper Phœnicians or of the Carthaginians; but the first seems certainly the more probable, as well from the connexion in which the passage stands, as from the respective situations of Tyre and Carthage at the time mentioned; Tyre being then by far the greater and more powerful trading city of

[21] Diod. i. p. 358.
[22] Polyb. i. 55. Diod. i. p. 326.
[23] Diod. i. p. 358.
[24] Ibid. i. p. 343.

the two, and was still in full possession of a maritime commerce with Spain.

We thus reach this most important peninsula; one of the chief colonial countries of the Phœnicians; the great object of their navigation; the principal seat of their commerce; and not a whit less important to them than Peru has been to modern Spain. The description of their trade with this rich province I shall reserve for the next section, and limit myself here to merely such geographical and historical observations as I think may be fairly deduced from the various accounts which have been handed down to us from antiquity.

First. There is, upon the whole, scarcely the least doubt respecting the part of Spain occupied by the principal settlements of the Phœnicians. All, or certainly the most part, were situated in the southern part of the present Andalusia, on both sides of the strait, from the mouths of the Anas, (Guadiana,) at both sides of the Guadalquiver, to the frontiers of Granada, and even Murcia. The aborigines dwelling in this district were the Turdetani; but this native tribe had so much intermingled with the Phœnicians, as to give rise along the coast to a mixed race, who were called the Bastuli.[25]

Secondly. It seems certain then that it is in this district that must be sought the celebrated Tartessus, Carteia, Gades, as well as the pillars of Hercules; and here there is but little difficulty till we come to fix the particular situation of each. The embellishments of the poets, who made this distant region the scene of many of their fables, have so confused and distorted historical facts, that at last even the very historians themselves knew not upon what to rely. Respecting even the pillars of Hercules, the greatest diversity of opinions has been held; some have sought for them in the Atlantic Ocean near Gades; others at Gibraltar; and others elsewhere:[26] scarcely a doubt, however, can now be entertained, but that the rocks of Calpe and Abyla, upon which Gibraltar and Ceuta now stand, gave rise to this appellation, and to the long string of fables which refer to them. The inquiry respecting Tartessus is beset with much greater difficulties: a river Tartessus, an island Tartessus, a

[25] See CELLARIUS, i. p. 65. MANNERT, i. §. 275.
[26] CELLAR. i. p. 72. MANNERT, i. §. 290.

place Tartessus, are spoken of, and have been sought for sometimes in one place and sometimes in another; and, lastly, we hear of a district Tartessus. This great diversity seems alone sufficient to instruct us respecting the idea we should attach to this name. As in ancient geography, all names applied to the furthermost countries of the earth are vague and uncertain; such is the case with this, and it would therefore be useless to endeavour to determine the exact spot where Tartessus formerly stood. Among the oriental nations, who had heard nothing more from the mysterious Phœnicians than the name of this distant country, it was considered, in a general manner, as the furthermost place towards the west, without any one being able to give more accurate information respecting it; but in the commercial geography of the Phœnicians, by Tartessus was evidently understood, the whole of southern Spain, which had been subjected to their authority. It was consequently a very indefinite term, probably much the same as that of the West Indies among the moderns; and thus perhaps we have a river, an island, and a territory of this name, because that country comprised all these.[27] Now when the river Tartessus is spoken of, we understand it to be the Bætis, or Guadalquiver, which, by flowing into the sea in two streams, forms an island, where, from the usual commercial policy of the Phœnicians, it is highly probable that their first settlement was made; and it is for this reason that Strabo has placed here the city of Tartessus.[28] But as they extended their dominion, the name extended also; and thus arose a district of Tartessus, which increased to a considerable size. The name Tartessus was also applied to nearly all the colonial cities in the neighbourhood.[29] It seems therefore a fruitless hypothesis of Bochart's to adopt three Tartessuses; and still less can I adopt the opinion of a modern writer, who places Tartessus where Seville, the ancient Hispalis, now stands;[30] though I will not undertake to deny that Hispalis never bore the name of Tartessus. If there ever was a city Tartessus, it was certainly *one* of the most ancient, probably

[27] Steph. de urb. s. v. Ταρτησσὸς, et ibi interpret.

[28] Strab. p. 221. He remarks soon after, that some had confounded it with Carteia.

[29] Cellar. i. p. 69.

[30] Mannert, i. §. 295.

the most ancient of the Phœnician colonies; and it is scarcely conceivable that they should have founded this so deep in the country, and so far from the coast.

Next to Tartessus, the island city of Gades, or Gadeix, is most deserving attention. It was a ruling maxim of the Phœnicians, as well as of the Carthaginians, to choose islands at a short distance from the continent for their settlements; these proving the most secure staples for their wares. This custom they observed in Spain. At a very small distance from the coast, and beyond the pillars of Hercules, were situated two small islands in the Atlantic Ocean.[31] The largest of these was about nine miles in circumference, and from its situation and state left them nothing to wish for. Here, on the most remote point of the known world, beyond which all was viewless, except the immeasurable waste of ocean, did they fix their abode, and built upon the two islands one city, which became one of the most remarkable of the world; and which, favoured by its happy situation, has continued such, notwithstanding all the political and commercial revolutions that have taken place, up to the present day. This enterprise, so justly celebrated in their annals, was also sung by the poets; who make the islands of Gades and Erythea, where reigned the triple-bodied Geryon, the furthest point of the expedition of the Tyrian Hercules. To him indeed was dedicated the renowned temple, built at the northern extremity of the largest island, and which, even in the time of the Romans, was regarded as one of the most venerable monuments of antiquity.[32]

A third city, equally remarkable, and whose name alone betrays its Phœnician origin, was Carteia. It would be difficult to determine accurately its site; it may be regarded however as certain, that it stood in the neighbourhood of the present Gibraltar, probably near to Algiziras.[33] Its situation, too, led it to be called Calpe; at least there seems many reasons for believing, that the city so frequently mentioned under this name was no other than Carteia.

Of the remaining cities, Malaca and Hispalis, the present Malaga and Seville, best deserve notice. The first derives

[31] STRAB. p. 257. The smaller island usually bore the name of Erythea. Pliny assures us that the ancient Gades was built upon this small island.
[32] DIOD. i. p. 345. STRAB. l. c. [33] MANNERT. i. §. 287.

its name from the excellent salt fish which it exported in large quantities;[34] the other was built on the Guadalquiver, at the point to which the tide ran up, and where it was navigable for ships of considerable burthen.[35]

These were the principal places; but besides these, the country was every where strewed over with Phœnician villages, and altogether, as it were, Phœnicianised. According to Strabo, there were here above two hundred places said to be of Phœnician origin;[36] and though even many may have been Carthaginian, yet they could only be few compared to the whole.

Thirdly. When it is remembered, that, even in the time of Homer, tin and amber were well-known articles of Phœnician commerce, there can be no doubt that the settlements of the Phœnicians reach up beyond this period. It is impossible to fix accurately the time of its foundation. The name Tarshish, or Tartessus, mentioned in the Mosaic records, among the tribes descended from Noah and dispersed after the flood, cannot with any direct certainty be referred to Spain; there is, however, a very remarkable historical fact preserved respecting the foundation of Gades, which any one acquainted with the usual manner of proceeding among the Phœnicians must consider, from its situation, to have been one of their first settlements. "Gades, it is said, was founded at the same time with Utica; the foundation of Utica took place 270 years before that of Carthage."[37] According to this statement, the foundation of Gades must be placed at about 1100 years before the Christian era, or 100 years after the Trojan war. Exactly the same account is found in Pomponius Mela; and although these statements only bring us to some where *about* the date, they must be regarded as of great advantage; because they very clearly prove, that the most lively intercourse with Spain existed in the most flourishing period of Tyre, and of Phœnicia in general.

[34] STRAB. p. 236; cf. BOCHART, p. 683.
[35] STRAB. p. 209. [36] Ibid. p. 207.
[37] VELLEIUS PATERCULUS (i. 2) expressly says, that Gades was founded nearly at the same time as Utica; and adds, that it was about the time of the reign of Codrus, viz. about 1100 B. C. Aristotle has recorded the date of the foundation of Utica in his work, *De Mirabil.* c. 146; and also adds, that it was thus stated in the Phœnician annals: *ἐν ταῖς Φοινικικαῖς ἱστορίαις.* The statement will be found in DIODORUS, i. p. 358.

Fourthly. The relation in which the parent country and the colonies stood towards each other, is here also unfortunately buried in such deep obscurity, that very little can be said positively upon this highly interesting object. Only a few dark traces are left; but these, when carefully investigated, seem to give us the clue to several important facts. Thus it appears that the Phœnicians at first came merely as merchants,[38] and made no attempt to plant settlements, till, after a closer acquaintance with the natives, they found it necessary for the enlargement and better security of their trade. Whether these colonies from the beginning were dependent upon Tyre is uncertain; their nature, so far as their object was the working of the mines, seems to decide in the affirmative. How, unless this had been the case, would the Tyrians have been able to turn them to such good account, that they should be represented as the principal source of their opulence;—how have kept strangers away? The numerous emigrations that were constantly taking place, (much the same as in the last centuries poured from Spain into the new world,) as well as the intermixture with the natives, seem to lead to the same conclusion. A passage, too, in the prophet Isaiah,[39] tends to show that their dominion, like that of all other mining colonies, was not very mild. However this may have been, it is quite certain that the Phœnician colonies in Spain, if not independent from the first, became so at a very early period: for when the Phocæan Greeks first voyaged to Phœnician Spain, which happened in the period of Cyrus, about 556, they found Tartessus existing as a free state, with its own king, who bore himself so civilly towards the Greeks as

[38] DIODOR. i. p. 358.

[39] See chap. xxiii. 10. This obscure passage is thus translated by Gesenius:

"Pass like the Nile through thy land, O daughter of Tarshish;
No girdle longer obstructs thee."

Thus the prophet, while he is foretelling the downfal of Tyre, cries out to the Tartessians, Move now at liberty in your emancipated country, for your chains are broken! The exegetical commentator may decide, whether, in this comparison with the Nile, the expression *daughter of Tarshish* alludes to the Tartessian people, or may not also be referred to the river Tartessus, the Guadalquiver, which it is said shall as freely flow through the free-become country of Tartessus, as the Nile through Egypt. The sense is the same, the metaphor alone being changed. GESENIUS, *Comment.* i. 732, refers the words to the people.

plainly to show, that he was not unaccustomed to the visits of strangers.[40] This prince, whose reign is said to have extended to eighty years, was named Arganthonius; and this account of him, given by Herodotus, has been repeated by numerous other writers. There can therefore be no doubt, but that the territory of the Phœnicians upon the main land of the Spanish peninsula, fell under the dominion of a monarch perfectly independent. But the case was otherwise with regard to Gades. This state appears to have had a republican government, and to have been the chief of the neighbouring small colonies on the coast, much the same as Carthage was in Africa;[41] with this city it soon entered into a friendly alliance, which continued to the time of the Roman wars, when its willing submission to the Romans purchased it the rights of municipality.

The columns of Hercules formed the boundaries of the world, as known to the ancients. The countries without these, and beyond Gades, were enveloped in the thickest obscurity, which the Phœnicians endeavoured to increase by a mysterious secrecy. Only very doubtful information, therefore, can be expected respecting their farther settlements upon the shores of the ocean. We hear nothing beyond this point of great and flourishing colonies, such as Gades; though the very extensive range of their navigation must have rendered more distant settlements necessary. Strabo speaks of no less than three hundred cities, said to have been founded by Tyre on the western coast of Africa, but which afterwards fell a prey to the rude Gætuli and Libyans.[42] However exaggerated this number may be, it would not render the fact itself improbable, if it did not seem to be opposed by the circumstance of Hanno's having described the coast in his Voyage, as a land in which no earlier settlements had been made.[43] The date of Hanno's voyage, however, is itself uncertain; and it may very well have happened, that these earlier settled colonies were destroyed before it took place. Who, a hundred years hence, would be able to find any traces of the present colonies of

[40] Herod. i. 163.

[41] See *Carthaginians*, chap. i.

[42] Strab. p. 1182.

[43] A translation of Hanno's *Voyage* will be found in the Appendix to the *African nations*, vol. i. 492, of the English edition.

Great Britain on the coasts of Australia, if it should be their lot to be subjugated and destroyed by its savage natives?

Another tradition was spread abroad by numerous writers of antiquity respecting a large island beyond the pillars of Hercules, which was taken possession of by the Phœnicians.[44] Although this tradition probably refers to Madeira, as is shown in my Researches upon Carthage, yet it still seems doubtful, whether the proper Phœnicians ever reached that island; and whether this fact must not rather be understood of their successors the Carthaginians, who, it is well known, founded a colony there. The statements of Diodorus, however, are too precise to allow of our depriving the Phœnicians of this glory. The whole body of traditions respecting the fortunate isles beyond the pillars of Hercules, which the poets and philosophers have so metamorphosed and adorned, would have become of themselves fluctuating and uncertain, even though the Phœnicians had not designedly cast over them a veil of mystery; a practice which they also followed with regard to their settlements on the European coasts, of which they would let nothing transpire, although the wares they brought from them prevented the fact of their visiting them from remaining altogether a secret.[45] It would indeed be entirely at variance with their general custom, and with their whole system of commercial policy, if they had not in various places of the northern coasts of Spain, and especially in the Casiterides, (Scilly islands,) established settlements; although no definite account of them had been preserved. Let no warm imagination, however, refer any of these traditions to a discovery of America. The Phœnicians might very well circumnavigate Africa and penetrate to the Eastern Sea; but to sail across the Atlantic to America was beyond them; for their navigation, even in its most flourishing state, like that of all other nations of antiquity and the middle ages, was confined to the coasts. Had indeed any accident driven a single ship to that distant shore, it would have been impossible to have turned the discovery to any advantage.

Let us now return through the pillars of Hercules into the Mediterranean Sea, and here we shall find another wide

[44] Diod. i. p. 344. [45] Herod. iii. 115.

range of Phœnician colonies on the northern coast of Africa, in after times the territory of Carthage. As a more extensive inquiry respecting the government and state of this country is detailed in another portion of this work, I shall confine myself here to a few general observations, which seem necessary to give the reader a general idea of the great extent of the Phœnician colonial system.

The colonies of this nation were not spread over the whole northern coast of Africa; but were settled mostly about the central part, which attracted them by its situation and great fertility, and afterwards formed the proper territory of Carthage, or the present Tunis. The settlements they formed here were so many staples, as well for their more distant trade to the west, as for their traffic with the interior of Africa;[46] and the great prosperity to which these places attained, is the clearest proof of the wise foresight with which they were chosen. All this strip of coast was covered with a chain of colonial cities, of which Utica, whose foundation, as has already been observed, was contemporary with that of Gades, was, according to all existing accounts, the most ancient. Next to Utica came Carthage; and then, in a southern direction, Adrumetum, Tysdrus, Great and Little Leptis, and some others less considerable, which, in the end, became not exactly subject, but rather allies of Carthage, and so formed together a federative state, which took the same form as that of the parent country. The relation in which these cities stood towards the latter, before the predominance of the Carthaginians, could scarcely have been the same in all, and probably differed from the beginning; as some, Utica and others, were evidently founded as staples for trade, while others owed their origin to political troubles, by the emigration of the dissatisfied party. From their later relations with Carthage, it is very clear, that within a short period each had formed a little independent state, with its own proper government within itself, and its own little territory around it, without any further connexion with the mother state than a mere friendly alliance.

It has already been remarked, that the principal direction

[46] Diod. i. 358.

in which the Phœnician race extended itself by colonization, was towards the west; because, from their situation, their sea trade could take no other. But notwithstanding this, so soon as their land trade through Asia had reached the coasts of the Indian Ocean, the want of settlements there must naturally have been felt. Traces of them, though certainly in part only doubtful traces, are found both on the Persian and Arabian Gulfs. The names of two islands in the midst of the Persian, Tyrus, or Tylos, and Aradus, bear striking marks of Phœnician origin; and in these have lately been discovered vestiges of Phœnician workmanship and buildings. I hope to identify these places in the following pages with the Baharein isles; but as this inquiry cannot well be carried on without taking a larger range, and spreading over the whole of the Persian Gulf, I shall reserve it for the chapter on the Babylonians, where it will be more in place.

It would be strange if the Phœnicians had not likewise made some attempt to navigate the Arabian Gulf, which lay nearer to them than the Persian. But the access to this was closed to them by another commercial and extensive nation, the Idumeans or Edomites, with whom the Jews stood in no friendly relation,[47] and who themselves possessed two seaports, Eloth and Ezion Geber, on the northern coast of the same Gulf. When, however, the boundaries of the Jewish empire under David had been so extended by the subjugation of the Edomites, as to take in these two places, the Phœnicians did not let the opportunity escape of opening the way to them for themselves by treaty;[48] and the navigation which they, in common with Solomon, carried on upon the Red Sea, drew so many of them to the above-named cities, that they may be fairly regarded as their colonies.

But, besides this, it seems that the Phœnicians fitted out ships from the western bay of the Arabian Gulf, the present Suez and the Heroopolis of antiquity. Theophrastus, in speaking of the frankincense trade of Arabia Felix, to which we shall presently return, mentions the merchants who carried on this trade in their ships, from the city of Heroopolis,

[47] GESENIUS Commentar zu Jesaias, i. 904, etc. [48] 1 KINGS, ix. 26, 27.

and the bay named after it, with the land of the Sabeans.[49] This navigation, too, was certainly ancient, even in his times. Who then could have carried it on except the Phœnicians?

Thus, then, this remarkable people spread themselves, not by fire and sword, and sanguinary conquests, but by peaceable and slower efforts, yet equally certain. No overthrown cities and desolated countries, such as marked the military expeditions of the Medes and Assyrians, denoted their progress; but a long series of flourishing colonies, agriculture and the arts of peace among the previously rude barbarians, pointed out the victorious career of the Tyrian Hercules.[50]

[49] THEOPHRAST. Hist. Plant. ix. 4. [50] DIOD. i. p. 264.

PHŒNICIANS.

CHAPTER III.

Navigation and Sea Trade of the Phœnicians.

WHO ARE THOSE THAT FLY LIKE A CLOUD,
AND LIKE DOVES TO THEIR HOLES?
THEY ARE VESSELS FROM SPAIN, WHO BRING THY SONS FROM AFAR;
THEIR GOLD AND THEIR SILVER WITH THEM.

ISAIAH, lx. 8, 9.

It requires no great sagacity to develope the causes by which the Phœnicians became a commercial and sea-faring people. They were in a manner constrained to it by their situation; for the commodities of interior Asia becoming accumulated in vast quantities upon their coasts, seemed to demand a further transport.[1] It would, nevertheless, be an error to assume this as the first and only impulse to their navigation, which most likely had the same origin here that it generally had among commercial nations: it sprung from piracy. The seeming advantages which this affords are too near and too striking to be overlooked by uncivilized nations; while the benefits to be derived from a peaceable and regular commerce, are too distant to come at first within the scope of their ideas. It was thus, that the piratical excursions of the Normans gave the first impulse to the navigation of the western countries of Europe. But among nations who are not, like the African nest of pirates, held back by despotism and other unfavourable circumstances, good gradually grows out from this original evil. A trifling advance too in civilization soon teaches mankind how greatly the benefits of trade surpass those of plunder; and as the latter diminishes, the former increases.

This is exactly the state in which the navigation of the

[1] See above, p. 25.

Phœnicians is first presented to our notice, in the time of Homer; the earliest period at which we catch an authentic glance at it from any definite accounts.

The Phœnicians at this period visited the Greek islands and the coasts of the continents, as robbers, or merchants, according as circumstances offered. They came with trinkets, beads, and baubles, which they sold at a high price to the inexperienced and unwary Greeks; and they thus gained opportunities of kidnapping their boys and girls, whom they turned to good account in the Asiatic slave markets, or who were redeemed at heavy ransoms by their parents and countrymen. A most faithful and lively picture of the state of society in these respects is drawn by the Greek bard himself, in the narrative which he makes Eumæus relate of his birth and early adventures.[2]

This kind of intercourse, however, could not last beyond the infancy of Grecian civilization. As this advanced, and that people grew formidable upon the seas, and Athenian and Ionian squadrons covered the Mediterranean, it must of itself have assumed another shape, as piracy would no longer be tolerated. But notwithstanding this, the connexion between Phœnicia and Greece, in the flourishing period of the latter, seems not to have continued so strong as might naturally have been expected. There is no trace of an active intercourse between Tyre and Athens, or Corinth; there is no vestige of commercial treaties, such as frequently were closed between Carthage and Rome.[3] Commercial jealousy, common to both nations, in some measure accounts for this phenomenon.—How much less has the intercourse between England and France always been, than it might have been, considering the situation and magnitude of the two kingdoms!—I trust, however, that the following observations will be deemed satisfactory upon this subject.

First. The principal source of trade among all great seafaring nations must ever be directed towards their colonies. It is only there that mutual exchange of commodities can be effected upon an extensive scale; all other sales are by retail, or in small quantities. The truth, which the experi-

[2] See Odyss. xv. 402, etc. Herodotus also gives the same account at the beginning of his history.

[3] Aristot. Polit. iii. 9.

ence of the greatest maritime states of modern times confirms beyond a doubt, was felt both by Phœnicians and Greeks; hence the chief commerce of both nations was confined to their colonies.

Secondly. The Greeks could the more easily abstain from purchasing of the Phœnicians, as they could import nearly all the wares they required from their own colonies in Asia Minor, which maintained the same intercourse with the countries of inner Asia, as Tyre and Sidon; and obtained and exported in a great degree the same Asiatic merchandise.

Thirdly. During the time of their greatest splendour, that is, from the commencement of the Persian wars, the Greeks were not only the rivals of the Phœnicians, but their declared political enemies. The hatred of the Phœnicians towards the Greeks is shown in nothing clearer, than in their ready willingness to lend their fleets to the Persians; and in the active share they took in the Persian expeditions against the whole of Greece, or against the separate states. How then can it be expected, that under such circumstances a very lively or regular commerce could have existed between them?

The Phœnicians, however, still possessed the advantage of furnishing the Greeks with certain articles of the most costly description, in great demand, which they could not obtain from their own colonies, and the Phœnicians alone could supply. To these belong especially, perfumes and spices, which they imported from Arabia, and which were absolutely necessary to the Greeks in their sacrifices to the gods. They also supplied them with the manufactures of Tyre; its purple garments, its rich apparel, its jewels, trinkets, and other ornaments, which could be obtained no where else of such fine workmanship, or so decidedly in accordance with the prevailing fashion.

The same causes which limited the commerce of the Phœnicians with Greece, tended also to diminish it with its colonies on the coast of Asia Minor and in Sicily. History has preserved us no express information upon this particular; but to the causes already cited, there remains to be added the fact, that in proportion as the trade of the Phœnicians decreased in the Western Mediterranean, that of the

Carthaginians increased, till at length they possessed it almost exclusively.

It is therefore the commerce of the Phœnicians with their own colonial countries, and more particularly with Spain, that especially demands our attention. Even their establishments upon the great islands of the Mediterranean were only regarded, as I have already observed, as stations for these distant voyages. We will return to these Capes of Good Hope, when we have made ourselves acquainted with that country which formed the great object of their navigation. "Spanish ships were the great work of thy trade; thou wast a perfect city, and honoured upon the seas."[4]

A general view of Phœnician navigation leads us at once to remark, that their commercial policy proceeded upon the same principle, which obtains in all commercial states in their infancy; namely, to regard the representative of the value of things as more important than the things themselves; and consequently to prefer the possession of countries producing gold and silver to all others. The working of mines therefore was the business to which they most sedulously applied; and no fear, no labour, seems too great for them to overcome, if gold or silver mines were the object that called forth their enterprising spirit. Here that profit seemed to be made at once, which in other cases they could only hope to make by repeated barter of their wares. Here seemed to be opened at once the sources of wealth! Animated by these expectations, they penetrated the Arabian Desert, and braved the dangers of the Red Sea, till they reached Happy Arabia and the Æthiopian coasts. The same object led them through the pillars of Hercules and to the western limits of the world.

Spain, who in modern days has been compelled to fetch her treasures from the other side the Atlantic, was herself the Peru of antiquity. She was the richest country in the world for silver; she abounded in gold[5] and the less precious metals.[6] The most productive mines of silver were found in the districts which have been described above, and

[4] Ezekiel, xxvii. 25. Compare this with the very interesting passage in Isaiah, lx. 8, 9; in which the prophet gives a fine picture of the future happiness of Jerusalem by comparing it with Tyre, to whose commerce he promises that city shall succeed.

[5] Strab. p. 216. [6] Especially tin. Strab. p. 219.

which were comprised by the Phœnicians under the general name of Tartessus or Tarshish. The prodigious quantity of the precious metals which they found here upon their first arrival so excited their astonishment, and the representation they made was so strongly impressed upon the mind of the nation, that the traditions preserved respecting them seem very remarkably to suit the pictures given by the Spanish discoverers of Peru. When the first Phœnicians visited Spain, it is said they found silver there in such abundance, that they not only freighted their ships with it to the water's edge, but made their common utensils, anchors not excepted, of this metal. Thus laden, they returned back to their native country, which lost no time in taking possession of this ancient Peru, and founding colonies there, whose name and situation we have already described.[7]

When the Phœnicians first settled here, artificial mine works were quite unnecessary. The silver ore lay exposed to view, and they had only to make a slight incision to obtain it in abundance.[8] The inhabitants themselves were so little acquainted with its value, that their commonest implements were composed of this metal. The demands of the Phœnicians, and their avidity to possess it, first taught them its worth; and it is probable that the arrival and settlement among them of these strangers, who could supply them with so many useful articles, in exchange for that upon which they set such little store, was to them a source of gratification. But when the stock they had in hand was exhausted, and the insatiable foreigners saw it necessary to open mines, the lot of the poor Iberians became truly pitiable. That the Spanish mines were worked by slaves is clear from Diodorus, who describes their wretched fate; and even though his statement may refer to the time of the Romans, there can be but little doubt that the same practice had long previously existed. Whether the natives were compelled to this labour we know not positively; but they scarcely could have escaped it altogether, though the extensive traffic of the Phœnicians in slaves would have rendered it easy for them to introduce sufficient hands

[7] See ARISTOT. *de Mirabil.* cxlvii. et ibi BECKM.

[8] STRABO, l. c., and compare the chief passages with DIOD. i. p. 358, etc.. my authority for the following remarks.

from abroad. Even if only employed as free labourers, their lot was sufficiently hard. That however the mines in Spain were not worked merely by digging, is clear from Diodorus, whose relation of itself proves that shafts were opened, and the subterraneous water forced out by machines; even if the interesting allusion to mine works in the book of Job should not be admitted as referring to the Phœnicians.[9]

The mine works of the genuine Phœnicians seem to have been confined to the present Andalusia. According to Strabo, the oldest were situated upon the mountain in which the Bætis or Guadalquiver takes its rise, upon the south part of the Sierra Morena, which, on the borders of Andalusia and Murcia, bore the name of Sierra Segura.[10] They did not extend beyond this previous to the time of the Carthaginians, who entered upon the conquest of Spain with much more energy and power.

For the rest, silver was certainly the principal, but could scarcely be the only object obtained. Gold, lead, and iron were discovered; and besides these, tin mines were opened by the Phœnicians on the northern coast of Spain, beyond Lusitania. All these metals are spoken of by the prophet Ezekiel as the produce of the Spanish mines. "Spain (Tarshish) traded with thee, because of the multitude of thy goods; silver, iron, tin, and lead, it gave thee in exchange for thy wares."[11]

That, in addition to the mines, the Phœnicians were attracted to Spain by the great fertility of the southern part of the country, is proved by the direct testimony of ancient writers.[12] Spain was regarded as the only country that was at once rich in metals, in corn, in wine, in oil, wax, fine wool,[13] and fruits, which, under its mild and benign sky, attain to the highest perfection. Their superabundance naturally suggested the invention of pickles and preserves.

[9] Job, xxviii. 1—13, with the remarks of Michaelis.

[10] Near Castillon: the mountain was called the silver mountain, Strab. p. 221. Consequently the metals might be transported down the Bætis to the coast and seaports.

[11] Ezekiel, xxvii. 12; and for what relates to the tin, Strab. p. 219.

[12] Strab. and Diodor. ii. cc., who are my authorities for the following statements.

[13] So excellent, according to Strab. p. 213, even thus early was the Spanish fleece, that a talent was given for a ram of this breed.

The trade in salt fish has already been mentioned as a branch of the earliest commerce of Spain.[14]

The commerce of the Phœnicians in their Spanish settlements was carried on in the same manner as they usually carried it on elsewhere; the only method indeed by which it can be carried on among uncivilized nations—namely, by barter. It is not only so described in the passage above quoted from the prophet Ezekiel, but the same is confirmed by Diodorus. They brought, on their side, Tyrian wares—probably linen, the usual clothing of Spain; perhaps, also, trinkets and toys, and such articles of finery as are eagerly coveted by barbarians. In exchange for these they obtained the above-mentioned natural productions; and silver, not as money, but as merchandise, and upon which their profit must have been doubled, if the conjecture, not destitute of probability, be true, that they bartered it in the southern countries for gold.[15]

But besides these direct advantages which the Phœnicians drew from their Spanish colonies, they were likewise of important service in the extension of their commerce upon the Atlantic Ocean. Gades was not merely the secure staple for the treasures and produce of Spain; but was likewise the starting point for that more distant navigation and commerce, over which the Phœnicians have cast a veil of secrecy, that all our endeavours cannot completely remove. It is known that from this port their vessels were fitted out for the tin islands, and the amber coasts; but where these are to be sought can only be conjectured, because it was evidently so much their advantage to keep away all rivals, especially from the amber trade, whose high price, equal to that of gold, must have been greatly reduced by competition. All that can be said upon this subject with any degree of certainty, will be found in the chapter upon the navigation of the Carthaginians, whose ships also visited these regions. It is there fully proved that the British and

[14] STRAB. p. 213.

[15] According to Agatharchides; cf. BOCHART, p. 139. Silver in Arabia Felix was tenfold the price of gold, which was there in great abundance. Should the correctness of this statement be disputed, it will nevertheless be certain, that the relative value of the precious metals must have been very different and in favour of silver there, to what it was in other parts of the world.

Cassiteridean isles were the seat of the tin trade; but that nothing is known beyond probable conjecture respecting the native country of amber. It is still however probable, that the ships of the Phœnicians stretched as far as the Baltic Sea and the coast of Prussia. Nothing can be argued against it from the difficulties of the navigation. The Phœnicians held no voyage to be impossible, which the state of the maritime art at that time would allow, and that was only coasting; and it lay in the very spirit of that people to penetrate along this coast by repeated attempts, as far as it was possible for man to reach.[16]

Respecting the navigation of the Phœnicians in the Atlantic Sea there is still more uncertainty. The dark traditions of islands which they there visited certainly render it probable that they stretched out from Gades to Madeira and the Canary Islands; but of regular voyages to the gold coast beyond the Senegal, such as performed by their colonists the Carthaginians, there is not a shadow of proof. Of their great voyage of discovery round Africa I shall speak presently; in the mean time, let us return by the Pillars of Hercules into the Mediterranean, and take a glance at their commerce with Sicily and Carthage.

It would appear from Diodorus as if their settlements in both these countries were founded with no other object, than for the convenience of their intercourse with Spain; and so far as Sicily alone is concerned he seems to be right.[17] In the long voyage from their native shores to that distant country, a harbour, to which they might run in, in case of storms or other accidents, was indispensably necessary. And although they established here a trade by barter with the natives, and thus managed to obtain the rich produce of the island for themselves; it is probable that the Greeks, who were always extending their possessions, soon deprived them of all, except the original object of their settlement.

[16] Several well-informed men have objected to me, that the navigation through the Bay of Biscay must have presented an insurmountable difficulty, in consequence of the currents which prevail there. The same obstacles, however, are found on the north-west coast of Africa, and were overcome. Although the navigation of the Phœnicians was a coasting navigation, yet it must not be understood to have confined them always to the shore, and to have prevented them at all times from daring the open sea. If this had been the case, how could they have performed their voyages across the Mediterranean?

[17] Diod. i. p. 358.

The case was different, however, with regard to Africa. If we merely look at the long line of commercial establishments formed upon this coast, it will be difficult to believe them all intended solely for the preservation of a communion with Spain. It is not denied but that such may have been the origin of the earliest settlements, as for example that of Utica; but when these cities began to flourish,[18] and drew to themselves the trade of inner Africa, there can be no doubt but the Phœnicians took a part in it, and obtained the commodities of this quarter of the globe, though in the first instance only at second hand. Unfortunately we have not the least positive information respecting the commerce with these African colonies; yet if the nature of things alone should not establish its existence, it is sufficiently done by the strict friendly alliance which Carthage always maintained with Tyre. Mindful of their Phœnician origin, the Carthaginians sent sacred embassies upon certain occasions to the temple of the Tyrian Hercules. Such were found in that city when it was captured by Alexander;[19] and during its siege the Tyrians sent part of their treasures, together with their wives and little ones, to Carthage, where they found a secure place of refuge.[20] So close and constant a connexion as this between two trading nations necessarily presupposes a long previous intercourse, which can therefore require no further proof.

Having thus shown the direction and extent of the trade and navigation of the Phœnicians towards the west, let us now bend our course eastwards, and trace their progress upon the two great south-western gulfs of Asia, the Arabian and Persian. In these, it has already been stated, they had partly settled, and thus gained secure harbours from which to set forth on their still more distant enterprises.

It must, however, be at once perceived, that their navigation here could not have a like undisturbed continuance with that of the Mediterranean. As the proper dominions of the Phœnicians never stretched so far as to either of these gulfs, it depended upon their political relations how far they could make use of the harbours they possessed there. For even though the way might be open to their

[18] DIOD. l. c. [19] ARRIAN, ii. 24. [20] DIOD. ii. p. 190.

caravans, the dominant nations of inner Asia might not be always willing to allow foreign colonies on their coasts.

Their navigation upon the Arabian Gulf arose out of their connexion with the Jews, and the extension of the dominions of the latter under David. Upon no portion of the ancient history of navigation and commerce has there been so much written, as upon the trade to Ophir; and, as is usually the case, where we have much that is probable and but little certain, upon nothing has less been concluded.

Respecting the date of this navigation and its starting point, history leaves us in no doubt. It certainly took place under Solomon, from the ports of Eloth, and Ezion-geber.[21] These places were situated on the two points where the Ælanitic gulf of the Arabian Sea ends. They had previously belonged to the Idumeans, or Edomites, a people who had probably carried on this same navigation from time immemorial;[22] and fell into the hands of the Jewish conqueror, with that nation itself. The Phœnicians did not let this opportunity pass by, but founded, in connexion with their allies, the Jews, a maritime commerce of advantage to both parties, as the Jews were scarcely in a situation to carry it on alone. Uncertainty, however, prevails when we inquire the situation of the place to which their voyages were directed: the celebrated Ophir, which some would find in Ceylon, others in Happy Arabia, and a celebrated traveller, with an extraordinary show of learning, on the eastern coast of Africa.[23] Like, however, the name of all other very distant places, and regions of antiquity—like Thule, Tartes-

[21] See 1 KINGS, ix. 26; 2 CHRON. viii. 10, 21.

[22] Many historians and commentators have laid it down as certain, that the Idumeans were a maritime people, on the sole ground of their possessing these two seaports; but though such a possession may give rise to conjecture, it can never become a positive proof. In the oracles pronounced so many times against the Idumeans by the prophets, (ISAIAH, xxxiv. and lxiii., and EZEKIEL, xxv. 20, etc.,) no allusion is made to their maritime commerce; though no doubt is left as to their having taken a share in the land trade; since Petra, its principal mart, (of which more anon,) was in their territory; and Bozrah, their capital, is represented as a splendid city doomed to be laid waste: ISAIAH, xxxiv. 6—13. Their relations with the Hebrews, almost invariably hostile, have been historically developed by GESENIUS, *Comment. ad Isaiam*, xxxiv.

[23] See BOCHART, p. 769; MICHAELIS, *Spicil.* ii. p. 184; and BRUCE'S TRAVELS, i. p. 143. What most confirms the truth of the explanation given in the text is, that Bochart and others who wish to fix the name of Ophir to one particular spot, have been obliged to admit several places of the same name.

sus, and others, we may safely infer that Ophir denotes no particular spot, but only a certain region or part of the world, such as the East and West Indies in modern geography. Ophir was the general name for the rich countries of the south, lying on the African, Arabian, and Indian coasts, as far as at that time known. From these the Phœnicians had already obtained vast treasures by caravans; but they now opened a maritime communication with them, in order to lighten the expense of transport, and to procure their merchandise at the best hand. The name of Ophir was common even in the time of Moses, and was then applied to those southern countries only known by common report. It was therefore now spoken of as a well-known name and country; and it may be fairly presumed, that when the Phœnicians entered upon this new line of trade, they only took possession of a previously well-established system; since it was a regular, settled navigation, and not a voyage of discovery. From its taking three years to perform, it would appear to have been directed to a distant region; but if we consider the half-yearly monsoons, and that the vessels visited the coasts of Arabia, Ethiopia, and the Malabar coast of India; and also that the expression, *in the third year*,[24] may admit of an interpretation that would much abridge the total duration, the distance will not appear so great. The commodities which they imported were ivory, precious stones, ebony, and gold, to which may be added apes and peacocks; all satisfactorily proving that they visited the countries just mentioned; especially Ethiopia, and probably India.[25]

[24] 2 CHRON. ix. 21. According to Michaelis's translation. As the periodical winds of the Arabian Gulf vary from those of the Indian Sea, and the same southerly wind only continues to blow for three months, viz. from January to April, a vessel coasting along the shore of India, of Ethiopia, and Arabia, and which would naturally touch and trade at several places, could not return the same year it set out. If, for example, it left Œlana in the month of October one year, it would be unable to return with the south wind into the Gulf before the spring of the third year from its departure. Thus the year of its return would be the third in number, although its absence in reality would be but eighteen months. SALT, (*Travels to Abyssinia*, p. 103,) in contradicting the statements of Bruce, says, that the Arabians perform this voyage in one year; but he does not mark the date of their departure from Œlana, nor reckon the time spent at the intermediate stations, which seems to be the essential point.

[25] Compare HERODOT. iii. 114, where these very Ethiopian wares will be found mentioned.

We learn from the Jewish annals that the advantages of this navigation were immense. But admitting that their representations are not over-coloured, it will still be highly incorrect to suppose that it was to this trade alone, or even in an eminent degree, that Tyre was indebted for her power and opulence. From what is said in the sacred writings, it would seem that this trade was very limited. It certainly formed only a lesser branch of the great Phœnician commerce, whose merchants procured the same merchandise by another, perhaps more profitable way; besides, no diminution is observable in the splendour of Tyre upon the interruption of this navigation, when the Jews were driven from these two seaports, which probably took place during the civil wars which arose upon the death of Solomon, when the Edomites revolted.[26]

The case was different with their navigation in the Persian Gulf. For though the exact point to which they traded from the Arabian Sea is uncertain, there can be no doubt but from this point they had a communication with the Indian coasts. As the investigation of this matter, however, demands a previous description of the Persian Gulf, and as the Phœnicians only shared this trade with the Babylonians and Chaldæans, the inquiry will be more in place in the following section, devoted to the Babylonians, where it will be set forth in as clear a light as possible.

The voyages of the Phœnicians thus far had a fixed and regular course; but besides these, they were in the habit of fitting out expeditions for the purpose of discovery, which often led the way to an enlargement of their commerce; though they sometimes had no result beyond the extension of their geographical knowledge. Chance has preserved us some particulars respecting a few of these enterprises, through their having been fortunately quoted by Herodotus; but how much more may have been undertaken, and successfully performed, by a people who, no doubt, like Great Britain and Portugal, had its Cooke and its Vasco de Gama!

In one of these voyages towards the Hellespont, which they undertook at a very early period, to explore Europe, they discovered the isle of Thasos, opposite the Thracian

[26] See Gesenius and others. The attempt made to re-establish this maritime intercourse under Jehoshaphat was unsuccessful.

coast, and were amply repaid for their pains by its productive gold mines, which they worked with wonderful labour and skill, as we learn from Herodotus, who saw them, till they were driven from the island by the Greeks.[27]

The same writer has given us an account of a still more wonderful voyage which this people undertook and successfully performed; this was nothing less than the circumnavigation of Africa. I shall here place before the reader the remarkable narrative, as given by the historian himself.[28]

"That Africa is clearly surrounded by the sea, except where it borders on Asia, Neco, king of the Egyptians, was the first we know of to demonstrate. That prince, having finished his excavations for the canal leading out of the Nile into the Arabian Gulf, despatched certain natives of Phœnicia on shipboard, with orders to sail back through the Pillars of Hercules into the north (Mediterranean) sea, and so to return into Egypt. The Phœnicians, consequently, having departed out of the Erythræan sea, proceeded on their voyage in the southern sea: when it was autumn they would push ashore, and sowing the land, whatever might be the part of Libya they had reached, await there till the harvest time: having reaped their corn, they continued their voyage; thus, after the lapse of two years, and passing through the Pillars of Hercules in the third, they came back into Egypt, and stated, what is not credible to me, but may be so, perhaps, to others, namely, that in their circumnavigation of Libya, they had the sun on the right hand (that is, on the north)."

Such is the account of this bold and successful voyage, as given by the father of history. We see here that the Phœnicians undertook the circumnavigation of Africa from the side opposite to that from which the Portuguese set forth; that is, they started from the Arabian Gulf and returned through the Straits of Gibraltar into the Mediterranean. They landed several times in order to sow and to reap; a procedure by no means surprising, if it be borne in mind how soon, in the warm climates of Africa, the harvest follows the seed time,—in three months at most; and as their vessels would need repair, the crew rest, and the sick attention and

[27] HEROD. ii. 44; cf. vi. 47.

[28] HEROD. iv. 42.

fresh provisions, they would sometimes be absolutely obliged to lay to and land for several weeks; hence there will be nothing strange in their sowing and reaping. The most interesting part of the narration, however, is the observation at the end, by which the writer, against his will, as it were, confirms the truth of the statement, by the recital of what appeared to him a fable; namely, that the mariners reported upon their return, that in the course of their voyage they had seen the sun in the north. Such we know must have been the case if they passed the equator; and who does not feel how impossible it was for them to have imagined this fact?

Notwithstanding this, modern writers of high character have formally denied the whole narrative of Herodotus, and brought forward various objections against it.[29] Herodotus's account, they say, is founded upon a mere tradition;—it is unexplained why a king of Egypt should have formed such a plan as this;—the time occupied by the voyage is too short;—the difficulties of the navigation along a dangerous coast too great;—and, finally, it is inconceivable that the discovery should not have led to more important results. Now it seems, in my opinion, always unreasonable to contradict positive historical testimony, on account of mere pretended improbabilities; and more especially when it is so strongly supported by internal evidence, as in the present instance. The objections, however, here brought forward are easily removed. For, in the first place, it is a mere assumption to say, that Herodotus's narrative is founded merely upon tradition. He does not, it is true, name his authority, but he speaks of the fact so positively as to imply a certainty, that in his eyes it had sufficient weight. Still less will it seem strange, that Neco, king of Egypt, should have planned this enterprise, when the character of that prince is taken into consideration. He had already built fleets on the Mediterranean and Red Seas, and had endeavoured to unite them by means of a canal, which would make Africa an island.[30] He had penetrated into Asia as a conqueror, to

[29] MANNERT, *Geographie der Griechen und Romer*, i. 20, etc., and GOSSELIN, *Recherches sur la Géographie des Anciens*, i. 149. Herodotus's statement, on the other hand, has found a most able defender in RENNEL, *Geography of Herodotus*, p. 682, etc.

[30] HEROD. ii. 158, 159.

the banks of the Euphrates.[31] Can it then excite surprise that he should conceive the idea of discovering the form and size of Africa?

The last objection, that this discovery must have led to greater consequences, falls at once to the ground, if we consider the history of Phœnicia immediately after it took place. The desolating expeditions of the Babylonian conquerors—indeed the protracted siege of Tyre itself by Nebuchadnezzar, followed closely after. A period in which the Phœnicians were constrained by the loss of their independence, to forego the idea of new voyages of discovery, even if they had had the power and inclination to undertake them.

The greatest objection, perhaps, is that presented by the difficulties of the navigation, and the shortness of the time in which the voyage is said to have been performed. It amounts, however, as I think, to nothing; for are we in a situation to judge, even with any tolerable degree of accuracy, of the perfection to which Phœnician navigation had been carried, or of its various resources? The following observations, however, I trust, will completely clear away this objection.

First. It has already been remarked in the introduction, that those nations which are accustomed to coasting navigation are generally much better acquainted with its peculiar dangers than even the great seafaring nations, whose vessels keep to the high seas. How well exercised in it then must the Phœnicians have been, who navigated from Tyre round Europe to Britain, and probably into the midst of the Baltic Sea!

Secondly. It is incorrect to assume that they had to navigate a coast wholly unknown. The eastern coast of Africa they had visited from the time of Solomon; their voyages to Ophir prove that they had a regular maritime communication with this quarter; and who can determine to what extent it was carried on, or how far they had penetrated along this coast? Indeed, even the above-mentioned seed-times and harvests presuppose an acquaintance with the climate of those hot regions, without which they never could have conceived such an idea; it affords therefore, instead of

[31] He lost the great battle at Circesium, or Carchemis, which established the Babylonian empire. See JEREM. xlvi. 2, etc.

an objection, rather a proof of the truth of Herodotus's narrative.[32]

Finally. It has been clearly ascertained by recent investigations, that the difficulties of the circumnavigation of Africa are not nearly so great in starting from the Arabian Sea as from the Mediterranean. All here combined to facilitate the progress of the expedition; not only the regular winds which prevail in those regions, but also the currents, which are perhaps in this case of still more importance. It is principally upon these that coasting navigation depends; and both these, and the winds, were favourable to the Phœnicians from the time they cleared the Arabian Gulf, till they reached the coast of Guinea, the longest and most difficult part of their voyage.[33]

But leaving these distant voyages of discovery out of the question, the extent to which this enterprising people carried their regular navigation is truly wonderful. Though voyages across the open seas have been the consequence of our acquaintance with the new world beyond the Atlantic; yet their hardy and adventurous spirit led them to find a substitute for it in stretching from coast to coast into the most distant regions. The long series of centuries during which they were exclusively the masters of the seas, gave them sufficient time to make this gradual progress, which perhaps was the more regular and certain in proportion to the time it occupied. The Phœnicians carried the nautical art to the highest point of perfection at that time required, or of which it was then capable; and gave a much wider scope to their enterprises and discoveries than either the Venetians or Genoese during the middle ages. Their numerous fleets were scattered over the Indian and Atlantic Ocean, and the Tyrian pennant waved at the same time on the coasts of Britain and on the shores of Ceylon.

[32] However great my belief in Herodotus's narrative, I cannot agree with Michaelis in supposing that this discovery gave rise to the establishment of a regular navigation to Gades and Tarshish, round Africa, of which there is not the least proof. See MICHAELIS, *Spicil.* i. p. 98, etc.

[33] These particulars are fully detailed, for the first time, in RENNEL'S *Geography of Herodotus*. In this likewise will be found an important map of Africa, in which the winds and currents are noted down.

CHAPTER IV.

Manufactures and Land Trade of the Phœnicians.

A MULTITUDE OF CAMELS SHALL COVER THEE,
DROMEDARIES FROM MIDIAN AND EPHAH!
FROM SHEBA WILL THEY COME,
AND BRING THEE GOLD AND FRANKINCENSE.
ISAIAH, lx. 6.

THE merchandise exported by the Phœnicians consisted partly of the produce of their own industry and skill; but in a much greater extent of the wares which they received, or imported themselves, from the countries of Asia with which they maintained an intercourse. The raw materials, which their art and labour fashioned, must have been drawn from abroad, as their own little territory could have supplied but a very small portion of what was necessary to satisfy the demands of their numerous and large customers scattered all over the world. It is very evident, therefore, from these facts, that the Phœnicians must have enjoyed an extensive commerce by land, although no express information respecting it has been handed down to us. This trade, however, as well as that of the Carthaginians, has been but very little noticed, and would, perhaps, have escaped investigation altogether, if it had not in a manner been forced upon the attention of the expositors of the Old Testament, who could not, without comment, well pass by the constant allusions made to this traffic in the prophecies of Ezekiel.

The whole of the twenty-seventh chapter of that prophet refers to this subject. This portion of the sacred writings, so valuable for the history of national intercourse, contains, for example, a geographical view of commerce, so precise, that one might almost imagine the prophet had a map of the world before him. It relates in a particular manner to

the land trade of Tyre, now threatened with ruin by the military expeditions of Nebuchadnezzar. The difficulties which occur with regard to the geographical names have been satisfactorily removed, or at least as far as possible, by Bochart and Michaelis. Without these contemporary documents the extent of Tyrian commerce might have been conceived, but it could not have been proved; for the statements of the Greek writers upon this subject are extremely short and meagre. The sketch, however, of the Hebrew poet affords us an interesting picture of the great international commerce of inner Asia, which enlarges our narrow ideas of ancient trade, by showing us that it connected nearly all the countries of the known world.

Previous to the investigation of this branch of foreign commerce of the Phœnicians, let us take a glance at the productions of their own skill and industry, which were, even in the remotest antiquity, so generally celebrated, that the remembrance of them has been preserved to the present day.

Among the inventions of the Phœnicians, their dyes indisputably hold the highest rank. The beautifully coloured garments of Sidon were celebrated in the Homeric period;[1] and no one can be ignorant that the Tyrian purple formed one of the most general and principal articles of luxury in antiquity. All that I have been able to collect upon this important subject is comprised in the following general observations.[2]

In the first place, it is altogether incorrect to consider this purple as one particular colour. The expression seemed rather to have signified among the ancients, the whole class of dyes manufactured from an animal substance; namely, the juice of shell-fish. It thus formed a distinct species of dye, differing from the second, the vegetable dye, which was composed of various vegetables *(colores herbacei*[3]*)*.

[1] See *Iliad* vi. 291. *Od.* xv. 424.

[2] The best works upon this material have been written by the Italians. The chief work is Amati *de Restitutione purpurarum*, third edition, Cesena, 1784. To this is appended a Treatise by Capelli, *de antiqua et nupera Purpura*, with notes. An excellent addition to these two works is contained in Don Michaele Rosa *Dissertazione delle porpore e delle materie vestiarie presso gli antichi*, 1768.

[3] Amati, p. l.

Now the first species comprised not merely one, but a great number and variety of colours; not only purple, but also light and dark purple, and almost every shade between.[4]

Secondly. There were two species of testaceous animals made use of for this dye; one, *buccinum*, found in cliffs and rocks; the other, *purpura* or *pelagia*, (the proper *purple-shell*,) was taken by fishing in the sea. The shells of both were spiral; but that of one was round; and that of the other, pointed; both being said to be as many years old as they had circles round.[5] They were both found in such great quantities, that, according to Pliny's expression, they covered, as it were, the shore; and not merely on the Phœnician coast, but the whole of the Mediterranean, and even the Atlantic. In the Mediterranean, the countries most celebrated for them were the shores of the Peloponnesus and Sicily; and in the Atlantic, the coast of Britain. There is an essential difference, however, in the quality of the colour, which of course must proceed from physical causes. Thus the shells of the Atlantic are said to have the darkest juice; those on the Italian and Sicilian coasts, a violet, or purple; and those on the Phœnician, and in general on the southern coast, a scarlet, or crimson.[6] The juice of the whole animal was not made use of; but a substance, called the flower, was pressed from a white vein or vessel in the neck, and the remaining part thrown away as useless.[7]

Thirdly. It is evident that this dye was only by slow degrees brought to perfection, and acquired its great celebrity. Still the Phœnicians are expressly indicated as the first who brought it into use; for the Tyrian Hercules is mentioned as the inventor; and the circumstance of their dwelling where these shells were found in such vast quantities naturally led them to make the discovery. Purple dyes, however, were by no means exclusively confined to the Phœnicians;[8] but by their great industry and skill, and from the excellent quality of the shells on their shore, they were enabled to bring it to a higher degree of perfection, and to

[4] AMATI, l. c., enumerates nine simple purple colours from white to black, and five mixed. The first are black, grey, *(lividus,)* violet, red, dark blue, light blue, yellow, reddish, and white.

[5] See AMATI, p. xxvii.

[6] AMATI, p. xxvi.

[7] The principal authority is PLIN. ix. 36; cf. AMATI, p. xxx.

[8] AMATI, p. xxxv.

maintain the superiority. Scarlet and violet purples, in particular, were no where dyed so well as in Tyre; garments of this colour, therefore, were in the greatest request among the great, and the prevailing fashion in the higher ranks of society. This furnishes us at once with a reason for the unbounded extent to which this branch of industry was carried by the Phœnicians.

Finally. Although all kinds of stuffs among the ancients, both cotton and linen, and in later times silk, were dyed purple, yet was this colour made use of in a more especial manner for woollens. The neighbouring nomads, as I shall presently show, supplied these of an excellent quality and fineness to the Phœnicians, who were thereby enabled to produce garments of a higher value, both in the superiority of the material and the colour.[9]

The dyeing was performed at all times *in the wool*, and was usually repeated *(purpuræ dibaphæ)*. By this was sometimes obtained the bright scarlet, and sometimes the violet tint; indeed, various sorts of purple were produced, and various processes followed.[10] Beauty, delicacy, and durability, were the great excellencies for which purple raiment was generally esteemed; but besides this, the Phœnicians also understood the art of throwing a peculiar lustre into this colour, by making other tints play over it, and producing what we call a shot colour, which seems to have made it wonderfully attractive.[11] Gaudy and glaring colours have in all ages most excited the attention of the vulgar and uncivilized; it is not therefore surprising that they had most admirers in the time of the Phœnicians.

Dyeing cannot exist without weaving. And it follows, that as the dyeing among the Phœnicians was done in the wool, the stuffs which they exported must have been the product of their own industry. The principal manufac-

[9] AMATI, p. xlvi.

[10] It will be easily perceived, that neither the superior beauty nor the variety of the colours depended merely upon the natural properties of the material; but principally upon the skill displayed in the preparation and mixing. Thus to obtain a dark red, the wool was first dipped in the juice of the *purpura*, and then, after being combed, in that of the *buccinum*. To obtain a violet this process was reversed. Peculiar dexterity and care, however, were required in the preparations, in order to obtain the exact tint required. See AMATI, p. xxxv. etc.

[11] AMATI, p. xlii.

tories of this sort were, in earlier times, at Sidon: Homer repeatedly praises its raiment.[12] At a later period, however, they were common in the other Phœnician cities, and especially in Tyre. It is much to be regretted, that history, which so celebrates the garments and woollens of this city, has preserved us no direct information respecting them.

Another product of Phœnician skill was glass; of this they were the inventors, and long enjoyed the exclusive manufactory.[13] The sand, or *vitrum*, used for this purpose, was found in the southern districts of this country, near the little river *Belus*, which rose at the foot of Mount Carmel, out of the lake *Cendeva* (probably Megiddo[14]). The glass manufactories continued, according to Pliny, during a long succession of centuries; their principal seats were at Sidon and the neighbouring Sarephta.[15] From the small number of glass houses, the use of glass would seem to have been much less general in antiquity than among us. While the mildness of the climate in all southern countries, as well as all over the East, rendered any other stoppage of the windows unnecessary, except that of curtains or blinds, goblets of the precious metals or stones were preferred as drinking vessels. This, however, seems in some measure to have been made up for by the early introduction of a singular kind of luxury in the stately edifices of these countries; that of covering the ceilings and walls of the apartments with glass.[16] The various significations, however, in which the Greek expression ὕαλος is made use of, and which properly means any transparent material, as crystal, various kinds of stones, and the like, render it impossible to determine with certainty whether glass itself or some other transparent substance is spoken of.

Under this head of Phœnician industry, too, may be ranged ornaments of dress, implements, utensils, baubles,

[12] *Il.* vi. 29. *Od.* xv. 424.

[13] Upon this subject we have two treatises: HAMBERGER, *Vitri Historia ex antiquitate eruta;* and MICHAELIS, *Historia vitri apud Hebræos*, both in the *Commentariis Soc. Goett.* t. iv. p. 1754 A.

[14] See MICHAELIS, l. c. p. 310.

[15] The chief authority is PLIN. xxxvi. 26; cf. HAMBERGER, l. c. p. 488.

[16] MICHAELIS, l. c. That this taste still prevails in Asia will be seen in MORIER, i. 218. So long as glass was only manufactured by the Phœnicians, it was accounted a precious commodity, and consequently might very well be esteemed an article of luxury.

and gewgaws, which they produced. The nature of their trade, which for a long time was confined to a traffic by barter with rude, uncultivated nations, among whom such commodities have always a quick and certain sale, must at a very early period have turned their attention to this branch of industry. A skilfully wrought chain of amber and gold was brought by Phœnician ships into Greece, according to Homer;[17] artificial works in ivory, supplied by their trade with India and Ethiopia, are mentioned by Ezekiel;[18] and how many other branches of their skill and industry may the lack of information have consigned to forgetfulness?[19] Chance has preserved us but little, yet this little is sufficient to prove that much must have existed among a rich, proud, and luxurious people.

Let us now turn to the foreign commerce which the Phœnicians carried on with the nations of the interior of Asia.

We shall have a better view of this land trade of the Phœnicians, if we divide it into three branches, according to its three principal directions. The first of these comprises the southern trade, or the Arabian-East-Indian, and the Egyptian; the second, the eastern, or the Assyrian-Babylonian; and the third, that of the north, or the Armenian-Caucasian. The statements of the prophets supply the groundwork of this investigation; the scattered accounts, however, to be found in other writers, and especially the Greek, will frequently throw an additional light upon the subject.

It is evident, from the various particulars mentioned by the Hebrew poets, as well as by profane writers, that the first of these three branches of commerce was the most important. We call it the Arabian-East-Indian, not because

[17] Odyss. xv. 459.

[18] Ezek. xxvii. 6.

[19] If we may assume that the ornaments worn by Jewish ladies were of Phœnician manufacture, which can scarcely be doubted, then the passage in Isaiah, iii. 18—23, will give us a more accurate view of them. "In that day will the Lord take away the ornaments of feet-buckles, and the cauls, and the little moons; the earrings, and the little chains; (query bracelets?) and the veils; the frontlets, and the feet-chains, and the girdles, and the smelling bottles, and the amulets; the rings for the fingers, and the nose-rings; the holiday clothes, and the petticoats, and the mantles, and the pockets; the mirrors, and the shifts, and the turbans, and the flowers." (Gesenius's *Translation.*) In the following verse are mentioned the artificial hair arrangements, "the well-curled locks."

we here assume it as proved that the Phœnicians themselves journeyed over Arabia to India; but because they procured in Arabia the merchandise of the East Indies, for which it was at that time the great market. With regard to Arabia itself, however, they kept up an intercourse with every part of it, as well its eastern coast as that bordering on the Arabian Sea. It is necessary, therefore, to make a few preliminary remarks upon the state and peculiarities of this extensive country, without which the reader would scarcely be able to form a correct estimate of the extent and importance of Phœnician commerce.

Arabia is one of the largest countries of the world, its superficial extent being more than three times as much as that of Germany. Its physical peculiarities distinguish it in a striking manner from the rest of Asia; and seem in a manner to point it out as a continuation of Africa, from which it is only divided by a gulf. Its natural features are not only generally the same, but change under the same parallels of latitude. The regions between 30° and 28° N. L., over which in Africa the great sandy desert spreads itself, find their exact counterpart in Arabia; and were it not for the existence of the Nile and the Arabian Gulf, the whole of this immense portion of the globe, from the shores of the Atlantic Ocean to the Persian Gulf, would be one uninterrupted desert of sand, in which not the least difference would be visible in the African and Asiatic or Arabian portions. In Africa, again, the region of fertility recommences under the twentieth parallel in the countries about the Niger; the same also takes place in Arabia. This change is expressed in the very name of the southern part of this peninsula, which is called the Happy Arabia. From this similarity of country, the trade of Arabia necessarily assumed the same form as that of Africa. Those, for example, who were desirous of opening a communication with this rich country, had first to cross the desert; and as this could only be done by large companies or caravans, it follows that the land trade with Arabia in ancient times, as well as since, could only be carried on by caravans.

Now although the desert itself was not without its produce, it is the southern fertile districts that more particularly merit the attention of the historian. It bore the name of

Yemen (the country to the right, in opposition to Syria); a name which, like that of Arabia Felix, given to it by the Greeks, but unknown in the country itself, sometimes signified the whole of the southern part of this peninsula between the Persian and Arabian Gulfs; and at others, only the district on the south-west, washed by the Indian Sea. Even in the latter acceptation of the word, Yemen is about equal in size to France; and well deserves its name of Happy, contrasted with the desert. It derives it, indeed, not so much from a positive uniform fertility, as from its comparative, occasioned by the many little mountain-streams which it contains, and which, in this hilly region, every where spring forth, without increasing to large rivers.

In a commercial point of view, Yemen was important in two respects: first, on account of its own productions; and, secondly, as the great staple of Indian and Ethiopian merchandise. It has always been, as well as the opposite coast of Ethiopia, from the earliest times, the principal country for spices and perfumes, and especially frankincense; whose great importance in ancient commerce has been spoken of upon several occasions. The various kinds of perfumes imported from this country by the Phœnicians in the time of Herodotus, are accurately described by that writer.[20] "To the south," he observes, "is Arabia, the most distant of inhabited countries. In this land grow frankincense, myrrh, cinnamon, cassia, and ledanon. The frankincense is collected from trees, in which are found a number of small winged serpents, which they are obliged to drive away by burning gum-styrax. Cassia grows in a shallow lake, infested by numerous winged insects, like bats; from these the inhabitants protect themselves by covering the whole body and eyes with skins. Finally, the ledanon is found like filth sticking to the beards of he-goats: this perfume, however, is used in several ointments, and is that which in general the Arabians burn."[21] How these legends are to be interpreted, and how far they are founded upon historical

[20] Herod. iii. 107—112.

[21] Distrusting my own experience, I have given the decisions of natural historians respecting these plants, as furnished me by a scholar well skilled in the botany of the ancients. Σμύρνη is *myrrh.* cf. Dioscor. i. 77. Theophr. ix. 45. Κάσια is *laurus casia L.* cf. Diosc. i. 12. Theoph. ix. 45. But λάδανον is *cistus creticus L.* Diosc. i. 128. cf. Tournefort, i. p. 29.

truth, I shall not venture to determine. It may perhaps be doubtful, whether the small flying serpents were any thing more than musquitoes; or the winged insects, similar to bats, any thing more than the winged lizards so common in that country.[22] The statement respecting the ledanon explains itself, in assuming that it exudes from a shrub upon which the goats are fond of browsing.[23] The frankincense is less a native of Arabia itself than the opposite coast of Zuila in Africa, as our investigations respecting that country will prove.

Besides these spices, gold and precious stones are expressly enumerated among the natural productions of Happy Arabia. Gold mines, it is true, are no longer to be found there, but the assurances of antiquity respecting them are so general and explicit, that it is impossible reasonably to doubt that Yemen once abounded in gold.[24] Why indeed should not the mountains of Arabia yield this metal, which was so plentiful in those just opposite, in Ethiopia? The minute acquaintance which Job (supposed to have been an Arabian) displays of mining affairs, renders this highly probable.[25] Golden ore was also washed down by the mountain streams, and cleared from the sand by washing.[26] With regard to precious stones, they were found in the mountains of the province of Hadramaut;[27] such at least as were considered precious by the ancients; namely, onyxes, rubies, agates, etc.

But in addition to these native productions of Happy Arabia, other wares are mentioned as Arabian, certainly not the proper produce of this country, but either Ethiopian or Indian. To the former belongs cinnamon, or cannella; and to the latter, ivory and ebony. Cinnamon is certainly enu-

[22] Draco volans L. See GESENIUS, *Commentar zu Jesaias*, i. 496.

[23] [The ledanon is a production of the ledum, a species of cistus; it is a sort of gummy exudation, collected now-a-days in the Levant, by rubbing the branches with a piece of leather, to which the viscous matter sticks: it is afterwards scraped off, rolled into balls, and dried. I have seen goats browsing on the leaves, in the interior parts of the island of Ceos, and have no doubt that what Herodotus states respecting the ancient mode of collecting this drug may be true. The ledum is cultivated in our gardens, under the name of the gum cistus (cistus ladaniferus, *Linn.*); the viscidity of the foliage is not so great as in the plants that grow on the coast of Asia Minor, although it is sufficient to produce a very disagreeable clamminess on the fingers of those that handle it. *Note to the passage in* LAURENT'S *Herodotus.* TR.]

[24] MICHAELIS, *Spicileg.* ii. p. 190. BOCHART, p. 139, 140.

[25] JOB, xxviii. 1—12. [26] STRAB. p. 777.

[27] The *Chatramotite* of the Greeks.

merated by Herodotus among the productions of Arabia; but the fabulous account which he repeats upon the authority of the Phœnicians, shows very plainly, that they made a mystery of its real native country.[28] Where cinnamon grows, or what country produces it, they cannot say; excepting that some, not improbably, affirm, that it grows in those regions where Bacchus was brought up.[29] A large kind of fowl is said to bear these plants, which we, after the Phœnicians, call cinnamon, to their nests,[30] from which it is procured by a stratagem, which he goes on to describe. Theophrastus,[31] also, who distinguishes the various kinds of cinnamon according to its quality, has a story about serpents, that rendered its collection dangerous, which shows how widely these tales of the Phœnicians were spread. Later historians, as Diodorus and Strabo,[32] mention cinnamon, it is true, among the other productions of Arabia; but it may be easily seen that they confounded the merchandise imported with the produce of the country. Besides these, cardamomum, nard, and other spices, used in odoriferous waters and unguents, are expressly enumerated by Theophrastus as coming from India.[33]

Having settled the principal articles of trade, the very important question arises, what districts and places of Arabia Felix were the chief seats of this commerce? It is a great advantage to history, that the prophet has left us so many accurate particulars upon this subject. The places mentioned by him render it quite certain that the Phœnicians made choice, in an especial manner, of the two districts of Hadramaut and Sedscar, the richest and most fruitful of Yemen. "Wadan and Javan brought thee from Sanaa sword-blades, cassia, and cinnamon, in exchange for thy wares. The merchants of Saba and of Raema traded with thee; the best spices, precious stones, and gold, brought they to thee for thy wares. Haran, Canna, Aden, Saba, traded with thee."[34] Some of these places, as Aden, Canna, Haran, all celebrated

[28] Herod. l. c. [29] That is, in India.

[30] I shall show in the next section, on the trade of the Babylonians, that this is an ancient tradition of Ceylon.

[31] Theoph. Hist. Plant. ix. 5. [32] Diod. i. p. 161. Strab. p. 1124.

[33] Theoph. ix. 7.

[34] Ezekiel, xxvii. 19—24, according to Michaelis's translation, whose remarks I must beg the reader to compare with what follows.

seaports on the Indian Sea, as well as Sanaa and Saba, or Mariaba, still the capital of Yemen, have retained their names unchanged to the present day: the site of others, as Waden, on the straits of Babelmandel, rest only on probable conjecture. These accurate statements of the prophet at all events prove what a special knowledge the inhabitants of Palestine had of Happy Arabia, and how great and active the intercourse with that country must have been.

Similar statements are found in Theophrastus; and likewise some remarkable particulars respecting the frankincense and spices there cultivated. "Frankincense, myrrh, and cassia," he observes, "grow in the Arabian districts of Saba and Adramotitis (Hadramaut); frankincense and myrrh on the sides or at the foot of mountains, and in the neighbouring islands. The trees which produce them grow sometimes wild, though occasionally cultivated; that of the frankincense being somewhat taller than the myrrh. The land belongs to the Sabeans, who regard the property as sacred, so that no one watches his trees. The harvested frankincense and myrrh was carried to a temple of the sun, the most holy among this nation, (always given to the idolatry of star-worship,) and guarded by armed Arabians. Each proprietor here set out his heap, placing upon it a ticket, on which was inscribed the quantity and price. Then came the merchant and deposited near each lot the price marked; after him followed the priest, who took one-third of this price for the deity, and left the remainder for the proprietor. The frankincense from the young trees is whitest, but least odoriferous; that of the more aged, yellow, but of stronger scent."[35]

The frankincense trade then was carried on under the protection of a sanctuary; it was also a kind of dumb trade, as is at this time the coffee trade in the same regions. "The frankincense grown on the main land was the most agreeable, but that of the neighbouring isles emitted the most powerful odour." Among these islands without doubt must be comprised the opposite Ethiopian peninsula of Zuila, now inhabited by the Samilis, who still, as I have shown in another place, possess the frankincense trade.

[35] THEOPHRAST. Hist. Plant. ix. 4.

The commerce of the Phœnicians, however, was not confined merely to southern Arabia, but stretched along the eastern coast on the Persian Gulf:—"The sons of Daden carry on thy trade, and to large countries went thy merchandise; with horn, ivory, and ebony, did they requite thee for thy wares."[36] Daden is one of the Baharein islands on the Persian Gulf, as will be fully shown in the chapter on the commerce of the Babylonians; and on this island Phœnician settlements it is said have been discovered in the vicinity of the trading city, Gerra. But if these words of the prophet prove an intercourse between Phœnicia and the Persian Gulf, they also prove not less indisputably the connexion in which the Phœnicians stood with India. The *large* countries to which the Phœnician trade extended beyond Daden could be no other than India; if this is not sufficiently proved by the situation, it is beyond a doubt by the commodities mentioned. Ivory and ebony could only have been procured in Daden from India, as there were no elephants in Arabia; and by the horn is probably meant the tusk of the narval, (or sea unicorn,) which is a native of the Indian sea.[37]

Having settled the principal directions which the Phœnician-Arabian commerce took, it is now important that we should discover who were the intermediate agents by whom it was transacted, and the way and manner by which it was carried on.

It has already been shown, that from the nature of the country this could only have been done by caravans. Let us now investigate by whom these were formed, from what point they started, and what route they travelled.

I have in another place observed, that the greater part of the caravans were usually formed by nomad tribes of herdsmen, who, from their mode of life, were much better adapted to it than the inhabitants of towns.[38] These remarks apply here, and are at once confirmed by the picture drawn by the prophet of the Tyrian land trade, in which we always see represented the nations *coming* and *bringing* their wares to the Tyrians; but never the latter going forth to fetch them. Tyre was, in this respect, much in the same situa-

[36] Ezekiel, xxvii. 15. [37] Michaelis, l. c.
[38] See *General Introduction*, (p. xci.,) *African Nations*, vol. i.

tion as Carthage. She had in her neighbourhood numerous nomad nations, which she employed to transact her business. The Syrian and Arabian deserts were occupied by tribes of this description, who wandered about with their flocks and herds, and, living in their tents, acknowledged no authority but that of their sheiks and emirs. These formed the caravans, by letting or selling their numerous camels, with their guides and drivers, to the merchants. "Arabians, and all the emirs of the Kedarians, traded with thee and brought thee dromedaries."[39] It seems, too, very naturally to follow, that from mere carriers these men would soon become dealers; and hence it is no way extraordinary to find among these nations certain tribes very opulent. Among the Arabian tribes, none appear to have cultivated the caravan trade earlier, or with more advantage, than the Midianites, who wandered on the northern boundaries of that country, and consequently in the neighbourhood of Phœnicia. It was to a caravan of Midianite merchants, which, laden with spicery, and balm, and myrrh, was journeying from Arabia into Egypt, that Joseph was sold.[40] The spoil which the Israelites took from this nation in gold was so prodigious as to excite our wonder; it was indeed so common among them, that not only their own ornaments, but even the collars of their camels were made of this precious metal.[41]

But besides the Midianites there was another nation of northern Arabia, not less remarkable in the history of commerce, and which is also mentioned by the prophet, as one of the chief nations from whom the Phœnicians obtained the merchandise of the south: these were the Idumeans, or Edomites. "Edom also managed thy trade and thy great affairs; emeralds, purple, broidered work, cotton, bezoar, and precious stones, she gave thee for the wares, which thou deliveredst to her."[42] The Edomites, however, were certainly not nomads. They had, as we have already noticed, cities, as, for example, the seaports of Eloth and Eziongeber, (now Acaba,) and others deeper in the land, as Bussra and Petra. The wares enumerated by the prophet seem to

[39] EZEKIEL, xxvii. 21. Kedar, a tribe in the neighbourhood of Happy Arabia, always appears rich in cattle, and as trading with them. ISAIAH, xx. 16, with the commentary of Gesenius.

[40] GENESIS, xxxvii. 28. [41] JUDGES, viii. 21, 26; GENESIS, xxxi. 47–53.

[42] EZEK. xxvi. 16.

be mostly Indian and Arabian; to these belong the precious stones, pearls, and purple, by which we must here understand that of India.[43] These, therefore, the Edomites bought of the caravans, and brought them to Tyre and the other Phœnician cities. The cotton and broidered work might probably have come from Egypt.

All these nomad tribes roving about northern Arabia were comprised by the Greeks under the name of Nabathian Arabs, which, though then applied to the inhabitants of the north of Arabia in general, properly belongs only to those of the important district of Hedjas. Diodorus, who describes very elegantly their manner of life, does not forget their caravan trade to Yemen. "No small number of them," he says,[44] "follow the business of carrying to the Mediterranean frankincense, myrrh, and other costly spices, which they purchase of persons who bring them from Happy Arabia." According to this account, it appears that they did not travel to Yemen themselves, but obtained their goods of the caravans which came from that country, in order to carry them still further. Both systems, however, might very well have existed together; for the merchant changes the conductor of his wares upon the route, accordingly as he may find opportunity or have occasion. It is nevertheless plain, from the description of the prophet, that caravans were formed in Arabia itself to journey into Phœnicia; for he expressly asserts, that merchants from Javan and Wadan had brought the wares of Yemen to Tyre.[45]

We find the same things to have happened in Arabia that obtained in the Carthaginian dominions and Egypt: the great markets for the merchandise which the caravans exported were on the borders of the desert. Thus, in the territory of Edom, in a situation fixed by nature herself, Petra grew into opulence, and gave its name to the whole of North-west Arabia.[46] Here became accumulated, in great abundance and

[43] See MICHAELIS, l. c.

[44] DIOD. ii. p. 390.

[45] EZEKIEL, xxvii. 19. Wadan and Javan, both cities of Yemen. See MICHAELIS, l. c.

[46] Now *Karak;* in JOSEPHUS, iv. 4, *Rekam;* the present Selah, 30° 20′ N. L., 36° east longitude. According to the recent maps of Syria by Paultre, it is, at the present time, a place where many caravan roads meet: care must be taken not to confound it with Moba-Carrak, to the east of the Dead Sea, to which the name of Carrak has been given improperly. In the neighbour-

in security, a great variety of wares brought from the southern regions; such, for example, as were the property of these nomad races themselves, and which they exchanged with the Phœnicians and others for articles of clothing and the necessaries of life. This place also has been visited by Burckhardt,[47] Banks, and Legh.[48] According to Diodorus, it was three hundred stadia from the southern extremity of the Red Sea;[49] and it seems therefore scarcely doubtful that it must be sought some where near *Wadi Muta*, (the valley of Moses,) so celebrated for its ruins. The description given of it by Burckhardt confirms the statement of Diodorus. By cutting through the solid rocks, a way has been made into a narrow valley, through which flows little streams, while the overhanging rocks often intercept the sight of the heavens. A handful of resolute men might here maintain themselves against an army. Where this valley begins to open lay the ancient city of Petra. The ruins of buildings found here are no earlier than the time of the Romans; but temples, and numerous sepulchres hewn out of the rock, are probably of a more remote origin.[50] Even as early as the times of Alexander, Petra was the staple of the Arabians for their spice and frankincense trade. At that time a great fair was held in its neighbourhood,[51] which there is no reason to doubt had been established at a much earlier period. Demetrius Poliorcetes attempted, at the command of his father Antigonus, to fall upon the merchants here in a treacherous manner, and to plunder them of their wealth, but the attempt failed.[52]

If the foregoing remarks have shown, in a general manner, the extent and activity of Arabian commerce, they must naturally have excited a desire in the reader to know the routes by which it was carried on. Had we in this case the description of a caravan road, such as Herodotus has left us of the one through the interior of Africa, our curiosity

hood is Mount Hor, a place resorted to by pilgrims, and where is shown the grave of Aaron.

[47] BURCKHARDT's Travels in Syria and the Holy Land, p. 422, etc.

[48] Their narratives will be found appended to MAC MICHÆL's *Journey from Moscow to Constantinople.*

[49] DIOD. l. c.

[50] MAC MICHÆL, p. 228. Prudence unfortunately prevented Burckhardt from accurately examining these ruins.

[51] DIOD. l. c. [52] Ibid.

might be easily gratified; this however fails us, and the few obscure traces of one, which may be found in Strabo, only afford us data for the settlement of some individual places. This writer mentions at least one of the intervening stations, which the caravans from Arabia Felix usually passed through, and determines the time which the journey occupied. They consumed seventy days in going from Yemen to Petra, and passed in their route a place named *Albus Pagus*, Λευκὴ κώμη of the Greeks, and the *Havra* or Avara of the Arabians.[53] This place is situated on the Arabian Gulf, under 25° N. Lat., on the boundaries of the fertile country of Nejed, belonging to central Arabia. Hence it is evident that the caravan road extended along the Arabian Gulf, most probably touched upon Mecca, the ancient Macoraba, and so arrived at the frontiers of Arabia Felix. By this route the caravans would enjoy the advantage of passing through fertile regions in the midst of their journey; while, deeper in the interior, they would have had to traverse long and dreary sandy deserts. The number of days' journey agrees very well with the distance. From Mariaba to Petra is reckoned at about 1260 geographical miles, which, divided by sixteen, the ordinary distance which caravans travel in a day, amounts to seventy.

This same writer has left us also some few particulars respecting the trading routes of eastern Arabia. It was the inhabitants of the city of Gerra on the Persian Gulf, who more especially carried on the caravan trade. They kept up a commercial intercourse with the marts of Hadramaut, the journey to which occupied forty days, the road stretching right across the great sandy desert in the south-east of the peninsula, and not along the coast. The distance in a direct line from Hadramaut to Gerra is not less than from six hundred and fifty to seven hundred miles, and would consequently require a forty days' journey.

Besides this, there existed, as we learn from the words of the prophet, a direct intercourse between the eastern coast of the peninsula and Gerra and Phœnicia. For, he says, the merchants of Daden brought the merchandise of the Persian Gulf to Tyre,[54] whose route, consequently, must have

[53] Strab. p. 1113.

[54] Ezek. xxvii. 15.

run through the north-eastern part of the land. This fact is still further proved by a passage from Isaiah, who, when he threatens Arabia with a foreign invasion, forgets not to mention the interruption which it would cause to its commerce. "In the wilderness of Arabia ye will be benighted, O ye caravans of Daden! To the thirsty bring out water, inhabitants of Tema; bring forth bread for the fugitives! For they fly before the sword and before the fury of war."[55] The trading caravans of Daden, which had hitherto journeyed undisturbed, were to be driven from their usual route by the approach of the enemy, and compelled to pass their nights in the wilderness, where the hospitable tribe of Tema, out of compassion, would bring them water and bread. Tema was situated on the western border of the fertile province of Nejed,[56] by which therefore the road passed. From this road the caravans were to be compelled to turn, in order to hide themselves in the desert.

Thus we learn the *usual* caravan road which led from Gerra to Tyre; that it was the only one is not here asserted. There must have been a time when the interior of Arabia, of which we are now so ignorant, was well known; and this is proved by the number of places mentioned by Ptolemy.[57] Whether or not this knowledge had descended from the Phœnicians, it is impossible to determine: perhaps it will not be thought improbable. In the investigation of the commerce of Babylon, it will however be more clearly proved, that the eastern coast of Arabia did not less abound in staples for Arabian, as well as Indian merchandise, than the southern. It requires therefore scarcely any further proof, that it also contained trading routes upon which this merchandise might be transported to the shores of the Mediterranean, or at least to the marts of Arabia Petræa.

Should it appear from what has been advanced that this

[55] ISAIAH, xxi. 13—15, with GESENIUS's *Commentary*. These passages of the prophets are of the greater importance from the seldomness with which caravans are mentioned by historical writers. It is from them, and not from the historians, that may be gathered the extent of the commerce of the ancient world.

[56] 27° N. Lat.: see GESENIUS's *Commentary on Isaiah*, i. 657.

[57] Many caravan roads in the interior of Arabia are marked upon the map to D. BREHMER's *Entdeckungen, etc.* I shall notice them in the appendix upon the ancient commercial routes. The starting points are the same as laid down above.

Arabia Petræa—the boundary country between the desert and the fertile regions—was the district in which the Arabian caravans were formed, and where the great staples for their wares were found, let it be allowed me, further, to add a single conjecture upon the way in which it was forwarded from this place to the great seaports of the Phœnicians; as it seems probable, that by this may be cleared up, what hitherto has been a very obscure passage in Herodotus. I mean that in which he describes the sea-coast of Phœnicia, as far as the frontiers of Egypt.[58] "From Phœnicia to the boundaries of the city Cadytis, stretch the country of the Syrians of Palestine (the Jews). From Cadytis, a city which does not seem to me to be much smaller than Sardis, as far as Jenysus, lie, on the sea-coast, the Arabian staples. The country from Jenysus to lake Sirbonis and to the Casian mountains, where Egypt begins, belong again to the Syrians. This is no small district, but three days' journey long; it is in other respects a waterless desert."

These Arabian staples on the Mediterranean are mentioned by no other writer but Herodotus; and the passage is more remarkable from his so determinately distinguishing between the Arabians, and Syrians, and Jews. But does it not seem highly probable, that the principal and particular business of these seaports, among which I include Gaza and Ascalon, was to ship the merchandise brought by the Arabian and Egyptian caravans, and to transport it along the coast to Tyre and the other large Phœnician cities? This, though only a conjecture with regard to these early times, is a certainty as regards the period of the Ptolemies; for the city of Rhinocolura, which, if it did not form one of these very cities, lay in the same neighbourhood, is expressly mentioned as a seaport, to which a great portion of the wares of Arabia were brought from Petra, in order to be shipped off for their further destination.[59]

Modern travellers, first Seetzen,[60] then Burckhardt,[61] and,

[58] Herod. iii. 5. Cadytis I take to be Jerusalem. The expression ἐμπόρια τοῦ Ἀραβίου, according to the connexion, can have no other sense than that given above.

[59] Strab. p. 1128.

[60] In extracts from his letters; *Monatliche Correspondenz*, 1808, B. 17, 18.

[61] *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land*, by J. L. Burckhardt. Lond. 1822, with maps.

finally, Bankes and Buckingham,[62] have brought to light the remains of the cities east of the lake Tiberias and the Dead Sea, (the ancient Decapolis and Havra,) comprised between 32°—33° N. Lat.; the magnificent ruins of Gerasa, (Dsieres,) Gadara, and Philadelphia, (Amman,) some of which are little inferior to those of Palmyra. Decayed temples, colonnades, and amphitheatres, show the former grandeur and opulence of these cities, when they were the seats of the Indian-Arabian commerce. So far, however, as these ruins have been made known to us, they belong altogether to a later period, that of the Antonines; while in those of Palmyra, among the vestiges of this, are discovered some of an earlier period: on this account the former do not come within the scope of this inquiry.

From the foregoing observations the following results may be deduced.

First. It is clear that Arabia was the great seat of the Phœnician land trade, and that with this was interwoven a connexion with the rich countries of the south, Ethiopia and India. Notwithstanding the vast deserts of sand, which protected Arabia from the attacks of foreign conquerors, the merchant's desire of gain was not damped, but surmounted every difficulty. Caravans, composed of various tribes, penetrated through its wastes in every direction, even to its southern and eastern coasts;[63] here they traded, either directly or indirectly, with the Phœnicians, whose seaports became at last the great staples of their valuable merchandise, whence it was shipped off, and spread over the West at an immense profit to these merchants.

Secondly. This commerce must have been the more lucrative, as it was, according to the very clear statement of Ezekiel, altogether carried on by barter. It is every where spoken of as an exchange of merchandise against merchandise, and even the precious metals are only considered as such. What an immense profit the Phœnician merchant must have made of his Spanish silver mines, by exchanging their produce for gold in Yemen, where this metal was so abundant! What

[62] BUCKINGHAM'S *Travels in Palestine*, 1823.

[63] See the sublime description of ISAIAH, lx. 6—9, in which the prophet represents the caravans as whole tribes, which should come to Jerusalem instead of going to Tyre.

a profit he must have had on other wares, which the Arabians in a manner were obliged to take of him, and in which he had no competitor! While, however, the Phœnician had no rival to compete with, he established, as it were, one among the Arabians, by procuring the commodities they sold from every country in which they were to be obtained, by which means he prevented the Arab merchants from fixing an arbitrary price upon their goods. If driven to it, he could do without the merchants of Saba or Aden, since he could obtain the same wares from Gerra; and had the merchants of Gerra attempted to overcharge him, they would as soon have been supplanted by those of Yemen.

Thirdly. The intercourse with Arabia must have been greatly facilitated by the similarity of the languages of the two nations. These were only dialects of one same language;[64] and though differences might occur, yet there scarcely could have been any difficulty in making each other understood. What an advantage to the Phœnician merchant, to be able, in the mutual intercourse with these distant regions, to make use of his native tongue, instead of being at the mercy of treacherous interpreters! This advantage alone would have sufficed to secure him the exclusive commerce of Arabia, even if the situation of the country had not made it almost impossible for any foreign nation to compete with him.

The commerce of the Phœnicians with Egypt must be considered as a second branch of their southern land trade. Their intercourse with this nation was one of the earliest they formed, as Herodotus expressly assures us that the exportation of Assyrian and Egyptian wares was the first business they carried on.[65] Their early acquaintance with Egypt, too, comes before us even in the patriarchal age; as every one knows from the Mosaic records. And when it is remembered that Egypt at all times enjoyed the principal land trade of Africa, as I have shown in the portion of my work relating to that country, it would indeed seem surprising if no intercourse had subsisted between two such great neighbouring commercial nations. Still more positive information, however, respecting its existence is given by Ezekiel, who, in his pic-

[64] See above, p. 45, 46.

[65] HEROD. i. 1.

ture of Tyrian commerce, forgets not that with Egypt, but even enumerates the wares which Tyre obtained from the banks of the Nile. "Fine cottons and embroidered work from Egypt spreadest thou over thy pavilions; dark blue and purple from the Peloponnesus were thy coverings."[66] In my Researches on the Egyptians, I have shown that weaving was one of their principal occupations, and that cotton was a native of their soil. Embroideries of cotton, and with cotton, were common in Egypt, and considered as masterpieces of art; as is proved by the linen corslet embroidered with cotton thread, which Amasis presented to Polycrates of Samos.[67] Corn, the other great product of Egypt, was only procured from that country upon extraordinary occasions; as Palestine and Syria furnished it of an excellent quality. It is proved, however, that it was fetched from thence, in cases of emergency, by the caravan journey of the sons of Jacob into Egypt.

Some particulars, too, have been preserved respecting the form and manner of the commercial intercourse between the Egyptians and Phœnicians. It was carried on by land and not by sea, for the entrance to Egypt by the latter was forbidden to foreigners previous to the reign of Amasis. The first trace of this commerce is found in the earliest tradition of the expedition of the Tyrian Hercules. "After the victory over Anteus, he went into Egypt, and there destroyed the tyrant Busiris, who dyed his hands in the blood of all strangers."[68] I cheerfully resign to my readers the easy and agreeable task of unveiling the sense which is enveloped under this beautiful mythos; who sees not that civilization is the thing here meant? and that Busiris, being one of the ancient kings of Thebes, this tradition refers to the Phœnician commerce with Upper Egypt, (one of the most ancient land trades of the world,) where the hundred-gated Thebes was the capital, and at the same time the principal seat of the commerce of interior Africa, as I have proved in the Researches upon the Egyptians?

With the domestic revolutions of Egypt, the seat of Phœnician trade became changed. Thebes no longer remained its chief mart, but the later capital, Memphis. Here was

[66] EZEK. xxvii. 7. [67] HEROD. iii. 47.
[68] DIOD. i. p. 263.

established a colony of Phœnicians; as an entire quarter of the city was inhabited by their merchants.[69] These facts are surely sufficient to prove how extensive their transactions must have been with this nation.

One of the principal articles exported by the Phœnicians to Egypt was wine, which this country did not at that time produce. Twice a year large cargoes of this were shipped from Phœnicia and Greece. The earthen vessels, in which, according to the custom of the ancient world, it was contained, were applied to an extraordinary purpose by the Persians, when they ruled in this country. They were placed as cisterns in the three days' desert, which divided Syria from Egypt, in order to make the communication easier for strangers.[70]

The second great branch of the Phœnician land trade spread towards the east. It includes their commerce with Syria and Palestine, with Babylon and Assyria, and with the countries of eastern Asia.

Palestine was the granary of the Phœnicians. Their own mountainous territory was but little adapted for agriculture, while Palestine produced corn in such abundance, as to be able to supply them plentifully with this first necessary of life. "Judah and the land of Israel traded with thee; corn of Minnith, honey of raisins, oil, and balm, gave they to thee for thy wares."[71] The corn of Judea was the best known. It excelled even that of Egypt. It was not therefore merely the proximity of the country which led the Egyptians to prefer this market. The other productions, also mentioned by the prophet, are among those which the Holy Land was famous for producing of a superior quality. The strong vine, which has been native in this country from time immemorial, afforded them an abundance of delicious grapes. The oil of Palestine, as we are informed by a modern traveller, even still excels that of Provence, notwithstanding the sunken state of culture under Turkish despotism. The balm was collected in the lands about lake Genezareth; and is of the same sort as that still in high repute, under the name of balsam of Mecca.[72]

[69] Herod. ii. 112. [70] See Herod. iii. 5, 6.
[71] Ezekiel, xxvii. 17. For what follows, see the remarks of Michaelis.
[72] Theophrast. *Hist. Plant.* ix. 6.

The fact, that Palestine was the granary of the Phœnicians, explains, too, in the clearest manner, the good understanding and lasting peace that prevailed between these two nations. It is a striking feature in the Jewish history, that with all other nations around them they lived in a state of almost continual warfare; and that under David and Solomon they even became conquerors, and subdued considerable countries; and yet with their nearest neighbours, the Phœnicians, they never engaged in hostilities. But if a sense of their weakness prevented them from attacking these mighty cities, the natural policy of the Phœnicians no less, on the other hand, restrained them from any hostile attempt on a country from which they drew their subsistence: to which it may be added, that it seems to have been a maxim among them to avoid all wars and forcible extension of their dominions upon the continent of Asia.

Syria proper, also, supplied its various productions, according to the nature of the different parts of the country,—accordingly as it was adapted for agriculture, the cultivation of the vine, or merely to the nomad life and the breeding of cattle. "Damascus traded with thee on account of thy great riches, and the multitude of thy wares; and brought thee wine from Chalybon, and wool from the wilderness."[73] The wine of Chalybon, probably the modern Aleppo, was the best that Asia afforded, or at least was esteemed as such. It was the only sort which was served at the table of the Persian kings, whose custom it was, only to admit to their board the greatest delicacies that each province of their empire brought forth.[74] If it be considered that the vine at this period was naturalized neither in Africa nor in the west of Europe, the conjecture will appear more probable, that wine in general was one of the most important commodities of Phœnician sea trade, as it could only be transported on land by waggons, and not upon beasts of burden.

The wool of the wilderness was one of the wares supplied by the pastoral tribes, who wandered with their flocks as well over the Syrian as over the Arabian deserts.[75] The fleece of these sheep is the finest known; it is improved by

[73] EZEKIEL, xxvii. 18.
[74] See the chapter on the Internal Government of the Persians.
[75] EZEKIEL, xxvii. 18, 21.

the heat of the climate, the continual exposure to the open air, and the care that these people bestow upon their flocks, which constitute their only business, all of which help to render it more precious.[76] The Arabian sheep, distinguished from the European by their immense tails, were known to Herodotus, who has left us a description of them.[77] "Arabia likewise possesses two extraordinary breeds of sheep, neither of which is found elsewhere. One of these has long tails, not less than three cubits; and were they suffered to drag them behind them, they would become sore by rubbing against the ground. The shepherds therefore make small carriages, and fasten them under the tails, to each animal one. The other kind of sheep have broad tails, each full an ell in width."

Herodotus only errs in taking a mere variety for a distinct species; all the other circumstances he here mentions are known to modern naturalists and travellers. A moment's reflection upon Tyrian manufacture of woven goods and their dyes, will enable the reader at once to perceive the great importance of this branch of commerce. It converted the very wilderness, so far as they were concerned, into an opulent country, which afforded them the finest and most precious raw materials for their most important manufactures. This circumstance, too, was a means of cementing and preserving a good understanding between them and these nomad tribes; a matter of no inconsiderable consequence to the Phœnicians, as it was through them that the rich produce of the southern regions came into their hands.

The great point, however, to which the trade of the Phœnicians was directed in the east, was Babylon. That a very active commerce was carried on with this flourishing city, even before it forcibly obtained the dominion of Asia and subjected Phœnicia itself, no one can doubt, who is acquainted with the situation and manners of the two nations; and yet, however astonishing it may seem, we have less information respecting this very important branch of trade than upon almost every other. Still we have the positive testimony of Herodotus, that it was one of the most ancient.

[76] See MICHAELIS, on the Wandering Shepherds, in his *Vermischten Schriften*, B. i. s. 6.

[77] HEROD. iii. 113.

"At the beginning, they exported Egyptian and Assyrian wares (the latter comprising the Babylonian) to the Mediterranean."[78] The prophet also mentions this commerce, but, like Herodotus, only in a general manner, and without at all setting forth its nature and objects.[79] It probably happened, that it was frequently interrupted by the great revolutions of interior Asia, in which Babylon itself often necessarily participated; it must however soon have revived, when the trade of Babylon itself again began to flourish.

In proportion, however, as the silence of history upon this interesting subject is remarkable, the conjecture is strengthened, that the trading route between Babylon and Tyre lay through a long uninterrupted desert; the natural consequence of which would be, that, even supposing it not purposely concealed, this commerce would have become but little known. But even in this desert itself are found vestiges which seem to denote its course and magnitude: the ruins of Palmyra and Balbeck; probably links of the commercial chain which connected Tyre and Babylon.[80]

The magnificent remains of these two cities have only been made known within the last century, by the publication of two celebrated works, in which they are represented by engravings. Of Palmyra, indeed, it may in some measure be asserted, that it was not discovered till within this period.[81] The form of the buildings which are left, show at the first glance that they have no claim to the antiquity of Thebes and Persepolis, but belong rather to the Greek-Macedonian, and a considerable part of them even to the Roman period; it is not however less certain, that the foundation of both cities must be carried much farther back than the origin of their existing remains.

The Jewish annals ascribe the building of both cities to

[78] HEROD. i. 1.

[79] EZEKIEL, xxvii. 23. "Assur and Chilmad were also thy merchants."

[80] The first of these lay in the fruitful valley between Libanus and Antilibanus, consequently not within Phœnicia proper. Palmyra, on the contrary, was situated in the midst of the Syrian desert, three days' journey from the Euphrates, upon one of those gems of the desert, or oases, which I have described with more detail in the volumes upon Africa, $33\frac{1}{3}°$ N. Lat. Its abundance of palms gave it its name, though this tree of the wilderness is no longer to be found there.

[81] See the two well-known works, *Ruins of Palmyra*, and *the Ruins of Balbeck*, in the preface to which will be found collected the principal historical data for the history of both cities.

Solomon: "He built Baalath and Tadmor in the desert."[82] Baalath, the temple of the sun, is the same with Balbeck, the valley of the sun; which name has been given it because the city was built in a valley. The first name is also expressed by the Greek appellation, *Heliopolis*. Tadmor, or Thadamora, is one of the common Syrian names of Palmyra.

If it be believed, from the high antiquity of this city, that it was built just at the time when the land trade of the Phœnicians, and especially of the new island city of Tyre, was so rapidly spreading, it must be admitted that a share in this trade entered exactly into the views of Solomon their builder, as is shown from the navigation to Ophir. Their lying, too, exactly in the direction of Babylon; and the great highway of eastern commerce running, certainly at a later period, through them, and thus became the cause of their magnitude and splendour, render it at least highly probable, that they had fulfilled the same destination in earlier times. Even now, according to Seetzen, all the commercial roads from Damascus to the Euphrates run by Palmyra, where they first divide.[83] This indeed is the path prescribed by nature herself. Taking this for granted, Balbeck may be considered as the point of departure; it being the general custom of the East for caravans to assemble at some distance from the chief city. In three days they reached Emesa, (Hems,) another celebrated city of Syria, on the borders of the desert. The distance through this sea of sand then required from four to five days to bring the traveller in sight of Palmyra. From this oasis to the Euphrates again required a journey of from three to four days to bring the caravan to Thapsacus, where it usually crossed over this stream. On the opposite side, the travellers had the choice of either following the course of the river, or of passing through the steppes of Mesopotamia.[84]

Whether, however, this is now the usual route or not, the commercial intercourse between Tyre and Babylon will not be the less certain; but this is not the case with regard to the more distant countries of Asia. I shall reserve the investigation of this matter to the next book, on the trade of

[82] 1 KINGS, ix. 18. [83] *Monatliche Correspondenz*, 1808, S. 508.

[84] This route is also marked upon PAULTRE'S *Map of Syria*, which describes both the ancient and modern caravan roads.

Babylon. I trust, I shall in that be able to make it appear that the Phœnicians, either directly or indirectly, procured the productions of the much more remote regions of the world.

We have now only to consider the third, and least branch of Phœnician land trade, which would have remained entirely unknown had it not been casually mentioned by the prophet. No Greek writer, that I am acquainted with, has left the least information respecting it. "Tubal and Meshech traded with thee, and gave thee slaves and vessels of brass for thy wares. Togarmah gave thee horses of common and noble breeds, and mules, for thy wares."[85] The geographical difficulties to which these names give rise have been cleared away by Bochart and Michaelis.[86] There can be no doubt, that Tubal and Meshech denoted the regions lying between the Black and Caspian Seas; the abode of the Tibarenians and Mosches, and probably also the Cappadocians. With regard to Togarmah, conjecture runs very strong in favour of its being Armenia. The probability of the truth of these conjectures is much augmented by the fact, that the wares enumerated are exactly such as these regions produce. Cappadocia, together with the Caucasian districts, from the very earliest times, was the chief seat of the slave trade, and always continued so in the ancient world. The finest race of men have always been preferred; and it is very generally known, that at the present time the harems of the Turkish and Persian nobility are peopled with the most beautiful of the Georgians and Circassians. The speculating spirit of the Phœnicians soon found a way to these countries, and knew very well how to take advantage of the prevailing taste in this merchandise. Their commerce in this detestable branch of trade was very extensive. The prophets bitterly reproach them with dealing in boys and girls, even in those of their neighbours the Jews, and for selling them to the Greeks; and predict that they should be punished for this offence, and their own children sold to the Sabeans.[87]

[85] EZEKIEL, xxvii. 13, 14.

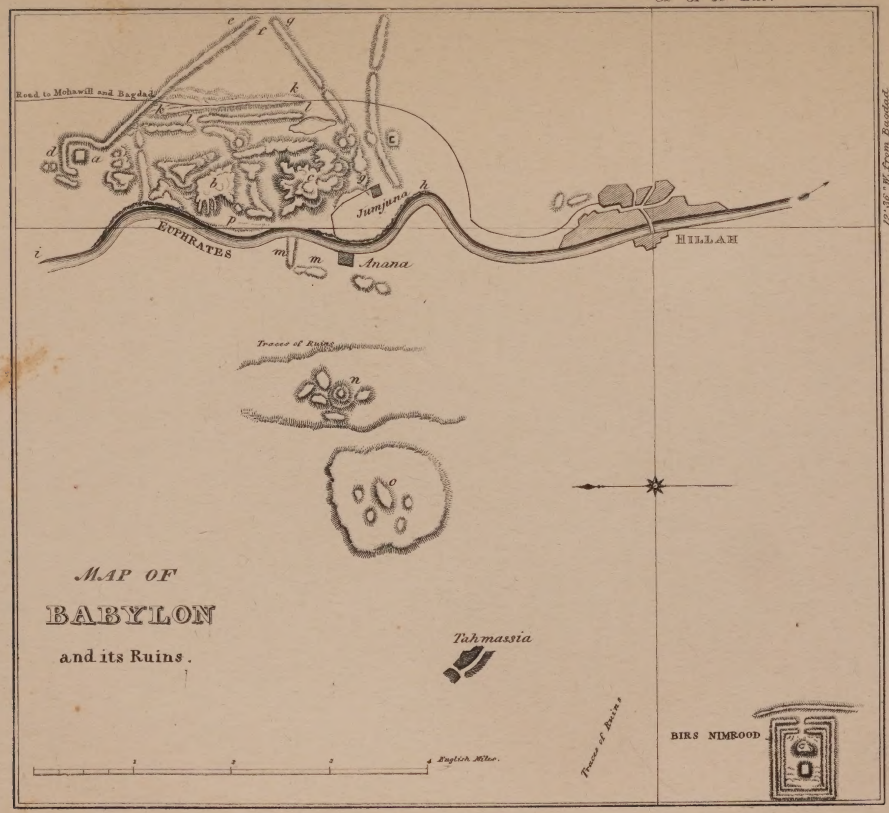
[86] BOCHART, p. 200, 207. MICHAEL. *Spicileg.* i. 44, 67.

[87] The principal authorities are the prophet JOEL, iii. 1—8, with the remarks of Michaelis, and GESENIUS *in Isaiah*, xxiii. I. 703. See also AMOS, i. 9, where the slave trade is enumerated among the transgressions of Tyre.

The mines of these regions, however, were probably a still greater attraction; and one which their whole history shows they could not withstand. The prophet mentions numerous vessels of copper: and perhaps the reader may call to mind the evidence of a later witness, Xenophon, who, in his expedition through the country of the Carduchians, was astonished at the great quantity of metal household utensils which these people possessed; and which, therefore, for many previous centuries, had been an object of Phœnician commerce. These countries abound in copper as much now as they did in antiquity. It forms the principal article of their trade with Bagdad and Basra; household utensils are commonly made of it, and scarcely any other profession is so common in those countries as that of coppersmiths.

Armenia, finally, is also recognised by its wares. It is described as a land abounding in horses; and in this respect, as well as in the distinction which the prophet makes between those of an inferior and a more esteemed breed, no country of Asia agrees so well as Armenia. In the nobler race we at once identify the Nyssean horses, the stately coursers of antiquity, no less celebrated for their colour and the splendour of their hides than for their beautiful symmetry; they were alone deemed worthy to draw the cars of the Persian monarchs.

To conclude, it is evident that this northern trade also was not carried on with money, but by barter. It was not necessary here, however, to have recourse to caravans. The way lay through inhabited and civilized countries, which might in part be traversed upon the royal highways running from Upper Asia to Sardis and the Mediterranean, which in the following pages will be accurately described.


32° 31' 16" Lat.
12° 36' W. From Bagdad.
Road to Mohawil and Bagdad
EUPHRATES
Jumjuma
Anana
HILLAH
Traces of Ruins
Tahmassia
Traces of Ruins
BIRS NIMROOD
English Miles
MAP OF
BABYLON
and its Ruins.

BABYLONIANS.

BABYLONIANS.

CHAPTER I.

General View of the Country and its Inhabitants.

AND THEY SAID, COME, LET US BUILD A CITY AND A TOWER, WHOSE TOP MAY REACH UNTO HEAVEN. AND THE LORD CAME DOWN TO SEE THE CITY AND THE TOWER WHICH THE CHILDREN OF MEN BUILDED. GENESIS, xi. 4, 5.

FEW countries of antiquity have so just a claim to the attention of the historian as Babylonia. However the writers of the eastern and western empires may have exaggerated the wonders of the capital, the country itself is distinguished by striking peculiarities from all others in this quarter of the globe. In no other did the cultivation of the earth by the industry and exertions of its inhabitants make such rapid progress; and in no other was industry more richly rewarded.[1] Notwithstanding the numerous revolutions it underwent, and the devastations of the barbarous conquerors who invaded it, Babylonia, unlike every other country of the earth, presented an astonishing succession of flourishing cities, which, like the Phœnix, seemed to arise from the ashes and ruins of their own destruction. In the earliest records of the human race, the name of Babylon appears as the primeval seat of political society, and the cradle of civilization.[2] And this name endured great and renowned for a long succession of ages. At last, when Babylon declined—just at the time when, according to the projects of the Macedonian conqueror, it was destined to form the capital of all Asia, and the central point of his new monarchy—Selucia sprung up and flourished near it on the Tigris: ere this city fell, it was eclipsed by Ctesiphon, the capital of the Parthian empire: when both these were destroyed by the

[1] HEROD. i. 193. [2] GENESIS, x. 8—10.

conquering Arabs, the royal cities of Bagdad and Ormus arose in their place; and the last glimmer, as it were, of the ancient splendour of Babylon seems still to hover over the half ruined Bassora.

Under these different points of view, Babylonia appears as one of the principal countries of Asia, and the most important on the globe. But its internal condition and physical peculiarities are so striking and remarkable, that we are compelled to take a survey of them before we turn our attention to its inhabitants.

Babylonia, or Chaldea,[3] was situated between the Euphrates and the Tigris, the former bounding it on the west, and the latter on the east. A description of these two rivers must precede our account of this country, because it is from their peculiar properties that it derives its own.

Both these streams rise in Armenia, and, after pursuing their course from north to south, fall into the Persian Gulf.[4] But as the plain between these rivers has a considerable fall towards the east, the western river, the Euphrates, has a much higher bed than the Tigris. Its level banks are generally filled to the brink with the mighty mass of waters which roll between them, so that the least increase causes an overflow. The Tigris, on the contrary, has a much deeper channel, with bolder shores, over which it seldom or never passes, although its current is much more rapid than that of the Euphrates. At a certain period of the year, however, from the snow melting in the mountains of Armenia, this latter river, like the Nile, constantly inundates the surrounding country. To set bounds to the frequent inundations of so large a stream in a completely level country, was certainly not an easy, though an indispensable undertaking. Like the people dwelling on the banks of the Egyptian river, the Babylonians had to wrest their country from the invasions of the flood. And the efforts this required seem to have developed their genius, and to have given an impulse to the progress of civilization and the arts among them, for

[3] A distinction, it must be observed, is sometimes made between Babylonia and Chaldea; the latter comprising the south, and the former the northern division. Usually, however, and certainly more correctly, they were considered as synonymous, the Chaldeans having taken possession of the whole country.

[4] See ARRIAN, vii. 7, for the following particulars.

which they were scarcely less celebrated than the Egyptians.

In the warm and dry climate of Babylon, it was not sufficient merely to restrain the floods, there was likewise the proper irrigation of the soil to be cared for.

It is in this twofold point of view that we must consider the arrangements made by the inhabitants to subjugate this river: a labour certainly lightened by the dikes, canals, lakes, and marshes, which nature itself had formed, though all these required the assistance and improvement of art.

The whole of Babylonia was intersected by a variety of large and small canals; some running right across the country from one river to the other, and answering the double purpose of a communication between them, and the irrigation of the soil; while others were formed solely for the latter object.[5] These canals began above Babylonia proper, in Mesopotamia; four of the largest, running from the Tigris to the Euphrates, being found north of the Median wall, about two miles and a half apart, and sufficiently broad and deep to be navigable for ships of burden. One of them was made use of by Artaxerxes as a line of defence when his brother Cyrus marched against him.

There seems but little doubt, that these canals were designed, like the Median wall, to prevent the inroads of the nomad hordes. Supposing that the Medes had effected a passage over this wall, and penetrated into Babylonia proper, they would still have found themselves arrested by two great canals, extending from the Tigris to the Euphrates, and from which a multitude of smaller ones branched off, for the purpose of irrigation. These latter, which seem, however, not to have reached to the Euphrates, were nevertheless so deep and broad, that Xenophon, at the head of the ten thousand, could only pass them by means of bridges; and even then had just cause to fear, lest he should be surrounded. Still nearer Babylon was situated the grand or royal canal, running from the Euphrates to the Tigris, and of sufficient breadth and depth to be navigable for merchant vessels.[6] It is impossible to determine

[5] HEROD. i. 193, may be consulted for what follows, and more especially XENOPH. *Anab.* i.

[6] HEROD. l. c.

the number of these canals; for, according to the testimony of Herodotus, the whole land was intersected by them, from their being every where indispensable for the watering of the soil. He relates as a curious fact, that the Euphrates, which had formerly flowed to the sea in almost a direct line, had been rendered so serpentine in its windings by the number of canals dug above Babylon, that in its passage to the city it passed three times the Assyrian village of Ardericca, and certainly on three different days.[7]

It is evident from this passage of Herodotus, that Ardericca lay above Babylon; and that the great aim of this laborious undertaking was to defend the country from the incursions of the Medes, and to facilitate the navigation of the vessels in their descent from the higher countries. Hence it seems highly probable that these alterations were made in the districts where the bed of the Euphrates is full of rocks and sandbanks;[8] and that they formed an immense series of sluices and floodgates, making the river navigable, but at the same time so lengthening it, both by the time occupied in going through the numerous locks, and by the numerous windings of the canal, as to make it a three days' voyage to pass the village of Ardericca. But all that seems extraordinary in passing by the same place three times vanishes, if it be considered that the canal was cut in this zigzag manner, to diminish the fall occasioned by the steepness of the land. Thus the two outer branches of the canal, in passing to and fro, touched the two extreme points of the village, while the centre also passed by it, which fully explains the length of the voyage; while the time it occupied may be accounted for, by the delay occasioned in passing the great number of locks. This, to be sure, is no more than a conjecture, but it seems a more probable one, than that which makes the length of the canal alone require a navigation of three days' duration.[9]

[7] HEROD. i. 185. [8] BUSCHING'S *Asia*, 239.

[9] See a treatise by BREIGER, *Descriptio Asiæ Herodoti*, an essay which gained the prize in the university of Gottingen in 1793. The name of Ardericca has led to the conjecture, that it is the present Akkerkuf, above Bagdad, where yet is found a large ruin of bricks, in the Babylonian style of building, which Ker Porter has minutely described. PORTER'S *Travels*, ii. 277. Akkerkuf however lies on the Tigris, not the Euphrates, as Ardericca did; a difficulty which would not be got over, though it should be granted, that a triple canal here ran from the Euphrates to the Tigris.

Besides canals, the Babylonians had recourse to dams, for the regulating the power of the current. Some of these were so ancient, that their first erection is ascribed to Semiramis, to whom it has been customary to attribute most of the great works of Asia, whose authors are unknown.[10] But according to Herodotus, queen Nitocris raised on both sides of the river new embankments of an extraordinary height and thickness, for which purpose the earth was made use of that had been dug up in the formation of an artificial lake; while in the interior of the city were built quays or banks of stone, such as are found in most of the capitals of Europe, situated upon large rivers or the sea-shore.

Though the construction of these dams and canals seems to have required almost incredible labour, yet what is told us of the lakes of Babylon is still more extraordinary, and, on account of the discrepancies in the information, still more difficult to explain. It would be nothing uncommon for the overflowings of such mighty rivers as the Euphrates and Tigris to have formed lakes in various districts; and, unless we take for granted there were a great number of such lakes in Babylon, a conjecture which a cursory examination of the ancient writers tends to confirm, it will be impossible to reconcile their various statements. The enterprising spirit of the inhabitants, however, combined with their industry and skill, soon discovered the means of rendering these lakes useful, as they did also, in part, the canals, by turning into them the overplus waters of the Euphrates; and to effect this, they had only to perfect the work began by nature, by the making of deep excavations, and the formation of sluices. The first of these lakes, which is described by Herodotus, and attributed to Nitocris, was at a considerable distance from the capital in the northern part of Babylonia. It was at least fifty miles in circumference, and lay at a small distance from the river. The earth dug out of this lake served for the embankments of the river, but the lake itself was faced by a stone and mortar enclosure. An undertaking such as this would appear colossal, even though it were but an extension of the work of nature, and confined to the enlarging the lake, already formed by the over-

[10] HEROD. i. 184.

flowings of the river, and giving it a solid boundary; and this appears from Herodotus to be precisely what took place. They dug down, he says, till they came to stagnant water. Into this lake, which usually resembled a morass, they could introduce the waters of the Euphrates by means of a canal; and it was by doing this that Cyrus conquered Babylon, when he forced his way into the city by the bed of this river.

This lake must not be confounded with the lakes or swamps formed by the Euphrates near ancient Babylon. The western quarter of the capital was entirely surrounded by these, which formed a natural barrier, and serving instead of wall and ramparts, rendered Babylon on this side inaccessible.[11] Alexander, who, in order to nullify a disastrous prophecy, was desirous of making his entry into his future capital on this side, was obliged to renounce his wish, in spite of all his exertions, and to take the common way.[12] The necessity to which the Babylonians were driven of building large quays in the interior of the city, is a proof that these lakes had been formed by the natural operation of the river, before its current had been restrained. It was probably these that led Alexander to conceive the design of forming a harbour near Babylon, which should be worthy the capital of his empire, and capable of containing a thousand large ships.[13]

There was another third great work of the same kind, wholly different from the lakes above mentioned, about forty-five miles below Babylon, and about one hundred and thirty from the mouth of the Euphrates. In this district the lands on the west of the river were low and marshy, covered with water, and stretching so far into the deserts of Arabia, that they were said to communicate with the sea.[14] These marshes were considerably lower than the bed of the river, and seem to have been destined by nature as a reservoir for its drainings. The water of the main stream was

[11] ARRIAN, vii. 17. An excellent map of ancient Babylonia will be found in RENNEL'S *Geography to Herodotus*, in which, with some slight variations, are noted the canals, lakes, etc. of the country.

[12] According to KER PORTER, who himself saw them, (*Travels*, ii. p. 389,) these numerous lakes and swamps still exist. He also confirms the remark, that they rendered access to the city on this side impossible.

[13] ARRIAN, vii. 19. [14] For what follows, see ARRIAN, vii. 21.

conducted into this morass, by means of a large canal of the breadth of a considerable river. It was called Pallacopas. Lest, however, the river should lose itself altogether in this morass, recourse was had to dams and sluices. One of the Babylonian satraps had effected this work at the cost of immense labour; ten thousand men having been employed upon it three months. It was nevertheless but of short duration, owing to the insurmountable difficulties which the nature of the soil presented; for as the lands about here afforded nothing but a fat, muddy soil, the embankments soon yielded to the action of the waters, and were washed away. In consequence of this, Alexander stopped up the ancient opening, and built at about five miles distance, in a strong soil, a new canal reaching to the Pallacopas. These works were the more interesting to him, because his design was to render these lakes navigable, and to penetrate with his ships into Arabia; that country being the only one of which it may be said he required the conquest, in order to complete the interior communication of his empire, without which it could not be perfectly consolidated, nor acquire the consistence which this great prince wished to give it, by the promotion of commerce and navigation, and the various arts of peace.

By these contrivances to subdue the Euphrates, that object was not only effected, but another consequence ensued, perhaps neither foreseen nor desired: the Euphrates was drained of the greatest portion of its waters before it reached the sea.[15] Instead of increasing in its descent, it diminished; several of its channels lost themselves in the sand; and its proper mouth became so shallow that it seems never to have been navigable. It is nevertheless proved, that it always retained its own mouth in the time of the Persians, and did not lose itself altogether in the Tigris, as it now does, sixty miles above the sea.[16] The great mass of its waters, however, threw itself into that river, which, increasing in proportion as the Euphrates diminished, could no longer find room for its waters within its accustomed channel, but, as it

[15] ARRIAN, viii. 18.

[16] This junction now takes place at Corna. The superior impetuosity of the Tigris is here evident; for the tide in the Euphrates runs up above twenty miles beyond Corna, while it is stopped by the Tigris, whose current it cannot overpower. *Transactions of the Bombay Society*, i. 135.

approached the sea, flowed over its banks and formed large lakes, equal to those formed by the Euphrates in the higher regions.

The country enclosed by these two rivers was one vast, uninterrupted level, indebted to them for its fertility. This level was every where intersected by canals, which gradually decreased in size till they became mere ditches. On their banks were innumerable machines for raising the water and spreading it over the soil.[17] The heat and almost constant dryness of the climate rendered this continual irrigation necessary; but the labour of man was here, as in Egypt, rewarded by such a luxuriant crop, that historians, fearful of being suspected of exaggeration, have been afraid to state the full truth. "Of all the countries that I am acquainted with," says Herodotus,[18] "Babylonia is by far the most fruitful in corn. The soil is so particularly adapted for it, that it never produces less than two hundred-fold, and in seasons remarkably favourable, it sometimes amounts to three hundred. The ear of the wheat, as well as the barley, is four digits broad. But the immense height to which the cenchrus and sesasum stalks[19] grow, although I have witnessed it myself, I dare not mention, lest those who have not visited this country should disbelieve my report." This fertility with regard to corn, however, was counterbalanced by a dearth of wood. The fig tree, olive, and vine, were not found there at all;[20] and their place was but poorly supplied by an abundance of date or palm trees, with which Babylonia was completely covered. These even still grow in large quantities on the banks of the Euphrates, but neither in the plains nor on the Tigris. The fruit of the palm was not only used as food, but converted into wine and honey.[21] The process observed in the culture of this fruit

[17] HEROD. i. 185. [18] Ibid. i. 193.

[19] Cenchrus is *Panicum Miliaceum;* cf. THEOPH. viii. 3. *Sesamum* is generally considered to be the *Sesamum Orientale*, L., but is most likely the *Sesamum Indicum;* cf. PLIN. xviii. 10. "Sesamum ab Indis venit, ex eo et oleum faciant." DIOSC. ii. 124, describes the oil manufactured from it by the Egyptians; cf. ALPIN *de Plantis Ægyptica*, c. 32, and FORSKAL. *in Flora Arabica*, p. 113.

[20] HEROD. l. c. Compare with what he says, XENOPH. *Anab.* ii.

[21] This is also the case at present: see OTTER, Voyage ii. p. 63, where will be found some information upon the artificial culture of dates. The honey must be considered as nothing more than palm sugar made of the fresh sap

is described by Herodotus; they bind the fruit of the male tree on the female, by which means the insect that is produced in the former, entering the fruit, brings it to maturity.[22] Of all other lofty trees, Babylonia was entirely destitute. Thus, even when its agriculture had attained its highest perfection, the country never entirely lost its primitive character of a land of steppes. The cypress, though some, was but a poor substitute for all other kinds of wood,[23] the want of which must have been severely felt, and had a vast influence upon the navigation and architecture of the Babylonians.

Like the generality of steppe regions, Babylonia was as destitute of stone as of wood. The free-stone made use of by the inhabitants in their buildings must therefore have been brought down the Euphrates, from the northern countries, whose quarries supplied them with millstones.[24] Nature, however, made up for the want of these important building materials in a remarkable manner. The vicinity of Babylon furnished an inexhaustible supply of superior clay, which, dried in the sun or burnt in kilns, became so firm and durable, that the remains of ancient walls which have been thrown down for centuries, have withstood the effect of the atmosphere to the present day,[25] and still retain the inscriptions with which they were impressed—a species of that arrow-headed character, which has lately so much excited the attention of the learned. Nature also even provided for the mortar. Eight days' journey above Babylon was the small river Is, and near to it a place of the same name, where was found a plentiful supply of naphtha, or bitumen, which well supplied the place of lime. No doubt seems to prevail respecting this being the modern Hit, where the pits or wells whence this material was obtained, still smoke and boil up, as though a river would break forth;[26] and

of the palm, and still in common use among the Arabians. *Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay*, 1819, vol. i. p. 138.

[22] HEROD. l. c. He and ARISTOTLE both call this insect ψήν; see *Hist. Anim.* v. 32. It belongs to the *Cynips Psenes*. PLINY, xv. 19, very indefinitely calls it *Culex*.

[23] XENOPH. l. c.

[24] Near a place called Corsote, beyond the Median wall. XENOPHON. *Op.* p. 256.

[25] HEROD. i. 179; cf. NIEBUHR'S *Voyage*, ii. 288.

[26] TITH'S *Travels to Ormus*, in *Harris's Collection of Voyages*, p. 207.

where, according to Herbelot, a tradition still exists, that it was of this bitumen that Babylon was formerly built.[27] It was used instead of cement; and layers of rushes or reeds were likewise placed between every thirtieth row of bricks as a binding material. This process, described by Herodotus, is verified by the ruins of Babylon, and according to the statements of a modern traveller, the layers of rushes and palm leaves are still so fresh, that one would suppose, from their appearance, that scarcely a year had elapsed since they were first placed together.[28]

Such was the character of this remarkable country. If nature on one side had done much towards assisting the labours of the inhabitants, she had on the other thrown incredible obstacles in their way. The perception of the first urged them to overcome the latter. It was precisely this struggle which developed the power of human genius among them, in a manner in which it has taken place no where else. Yet all this, perhaps, would have been in vain, without the still greater advantage derived from the favourable position of the country. In consequence of this, Babylon became the principal state of Western Asia; nature herself seeming to have formed it for the great seat of the international commerce of Asia.[29] Situated between the Indus and the Mediterranean, it was the natural staple of such precious wares of the East as were esteemed in the West. Its proximity to the Persian Gulf, the great highway of trade, which nature seems to have prepared for the admission of the seafaring nations of the Indian Seas into the midst of Asia, must be reckoned as another advantage, especially when taken in connexion with its vicinity to the two great rivers, the continuation, as it were, of this great highway, and opening a communication with the nations dwelling on the Euxine and the Caspian. Thus favoured by nature, this country necessarily became the central point, where the merchants of nearly all the na-

[27] HERBELOT, *Biblioth. Orient. s. v. Hit.* It must not however be supposed that these were the only sources whence naphtha might be procured. It is found rather plentiful near the Tigris; so much so, that it is an amusement of the sailors upon that river to set fire to the bitumen which floats on its surface.

[28] HEROD. and NIEBUHR, ll. cc. Traces of these are visible on a Babylonian brick in the museum of Gottingen.

[29] See above, *Persians*, p. 24.

tions of the civilized world assembled; and such we are informed by history it remained, so long as the international commerce of Asia flourished. Neither the devastating sword of conquering nations, nor the heavy yoke of Asiatic despotism, could tarnish, though for a time they might dim its splendour. It was only when the Europeans found a new path to India across the ocean, and converted the great commerce of the world from a land trade to a sea trade, that the royal city on the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates began to decline. Then, deprived of its commerce, it fell a victim to the two-fold oppression of anarchy and despotism, and sunk to its original state—a stinking morass, and a barren steppe.

The investigation of the commerce of Babylon will form the subject of the following chapter; but previously to entering upon it, let us take a glance at the people who took up their abode on this spot: who, in short, were the Babylonians?

In order to answer this question, we must, in the first place, distinguish the ancient inhabitants, who dwelt here before the invasion of the Chaldeans, from the latter race, who, about the year 630 before Christ, became the dominant people of Babylon.

We know enough of the ancient Babylonians to conclude, that they belonged to the Semetic family of nations; their language, which is very incorrectly called Chaldean, (as the rude Chaldeans only changed their barbarous speech for that of the cultivated Babylonians,) being an Aramean dialect, differing but slightly from the proper Syriac. Whether the inhabitants of Babylon came from India, or were tribes from the peninsula of Arabia, as their language renders probable, is of the less consequence to the historian, as in a country which became a principal seat of commerce, a very mixed race of people must necessarily have arisen. It is, on the other hand, of importance to know, that the Babylonians had, in the most remote antiquity, advanced not only to fixed habitations, but also to a certain degree of civilization.

The most ancient tradition that refers to Babylon, represents them as a nation possessing fixed abodes and political institutions.[30] Every one is familiar with the accounts

[30] GENES. xi. 1—7.

which the Mosaic records give us of the *first empire* founded by Nimrod, and of the celebrated building of which Jehovah prevented the completion. There is, perhaps, no where else to be found a narrative so venerable for its antiquity, or so important in the history of civilization; in which we have at once preserved the first traces of primeval international commerce, the first political associations, and the first erection of secure and permanent dwellings!

For a long time after this early appearance, Babylon vanishes, as it were, from the scene of history. The Jewish annalists had no opportunity to mention her, as the Babylonians had no connexion with them; and with regard to what the later Greek writers, Herodotus and Ctesias, tell us, their statements are so mixed up with fabulous reports, which they picked up in the country itself, that they are incapable of being reduced to any chronological arrangement. The historical mythology of the Babylonians seems to rest almost exclusively upon the names of Semiramis, Ninus, and Belus, which, however embellished and interwoven with *astronomical ideas*, still render it in the highest degree probable, that great conquerors had arisen in this part of Asia long before the origin of the Babylonian-Chaldean empire, and had founded two empires, of which nothing more has been preserved than the remembrance, in the general name of *Assyrian monarchy*.

I will leave to others the collection and arrangement of these fragments of the primitive history of Babylon,[31] and confine myself to that epoch in which this city played so great and mighty a part in the drama of the world.

This brilliant epoch begins in the latter part of the seventh century before our era, about 630 years before Christ, or nearly seventy years before the rise of the Persian monarchy.

A revolution then took place in Asia, similar to that which Cyrus afterwards effected. A nomad people, under

[31] See GATTERER'S *Weltgeschichte*, p. 151, etc. It is evident from a passage in the Armenian version of EUSEBIUS'S *Chronicle*, quoted and illustrated by Gesenius, the learned commentator upon Isaiah, that Babylonia, even in the time of Hezekiah, 728—700, B. C., was dependent upon the Assyrian empire, notwithstanding that Merodach-baladan is mentioned, (Isaiah, xxxix. 1,) as at that time king of Babylon. It appears that the monarch here spoken of had only rebelled, and now implored the assistance of Hezekiah. He was slain six months after this by Elibus, another usurper, who was taken prisoner by Sanherib the Assyrian ruler.

the name of Chaldean,[32] descending from the mountains of Taurus and Caucasus, overwhelmed southern Asia, and made themselves masters of the Syrian and Babylonian plains. Babylonia, which they captured, became the chief seat of their empire, and their king Nebuchadnezzar, by subduing Asia to the shores of the Mediterranean, earned his title to be ranked among the most famous of Asiatic conquerors. The great victory which he gained at Cercesium, on the banks of the Euphrates, over Pharaoh Necho, king of Egypt, established his power. He destroyed Jerusalem, besieged Tyre and the other cities of Phœnicia, and probably overran Egypt itself. Thus was founded the Babylonian-Chaldean empire, which, about half a century later, was in its turn overthrown by Cyrus.

This was not then the period of the foundation and growth of Babylon, but it was that of its grandeur and power. It may seem extraordinary that Herodotus does not mention Nebuchadnezzar; but if he omits the name, he agrees in chronology with the statements of the Hebrew writers; for his queen Nitocris,[33] to whom he ascribes the great works in and about Babylon, must have been contemporary with Nebuchadnezzar, and was probably his wife.[34]

By admitting these data, already sufficiently proved by

[32] The question what the Chaldeans really were, and whether they ever properly existed as a nation, is one of the most difficult that history presents. From eastern analogy, it seems most probable that the כשדים of the Hebrews, which is translated Chaldeans, was a general name among the Semetic nations for the *northern barbarians*, as Turani was among the inhabitants of Iran. At all events, it is certain, that the conquering Chaldeans forced their way from the north, since their separate hordes had already wandered in the steppes of Mesopotamia for a hundred years, and had in part settled there. The reader, however, is particularly referred to GESENIUS on Isaiah, xxiii. 13, where the fragments of the earlier history of this people will be found collected. This learned commentator seeks the original seat of the Chaldeans in the mountains of Curdistan, now inhabited by the Curds, probably their successors; and conjectures that they were brought from their native regions by the Assyrians as mercenaries, after which they settled in the plains till they started forth as conquerors. Every one acquainted with Asiatic history will at once see, that there is nothing in the opinion that their name was a general appellation, but what may very well agree with this notion. The hypothesis of Michaelis, that would make them Scythians, refutes itself. *Spicileg. Geogr. Hebr. sic.* ii. 77, etc.

[33] HEROD. i. 183.

[34] HERODOTUS, i. 188, calls the king Labynetus, against whom Cyrus waged war, her son. It is extraordinary how the name of Nebuchadnezzar could remain unknown to this historian, when, according to JOSEPHUS, *Op.* p. 350, it was well known to Megasthenes and other Greek writers. I shall hereafter find an opportunity of saying a few words upon this subject.

the critical researches of early writers, we begin to see a little more clearly through the obscurity which still envelops the foundation and aggrandisement of Babylon; and the statements of Herodotus, which were long considered unworthy of credit, become intelligible. The same wonders which he relates of Babylon are related by other writers, who, like him, speak as eye-witnesses of other great cities of Asia. We ought not to doubt of what appears extraordinary, because it does not, judging from our own experience, seem probable; for this does not enable us to decide what may be possible under another climate and other circumstances. Do not the pyramids of Egypt, the great wall of China, and the rock-temples of Elephantis, stand as it were in mockery of that criticism which would arrogate to itself the privilege of fixing boundaries to the capabilities of the united strength of congregated nations!

It is one of the peculiarities of the great despotic empires which Asia has always contained, that they can with amazing facility concentrate their power upon one single point; and thus, in consequence of the immense assemblage of various tribes from distant countries, and the almost incredible population which the ease of procuring subsistence accumulates in certain fruitful regions, many vast undertakings are practicable there, which could not be executed in Europe.

It must also be borne in mind, that the great cities of Asia were constituted in a manner wholly different to those of Europe. They generally grew out of the settlements of nomad conquerors, who fixed their abode in a subjugated country, and changed their old mode of life for one more settled and peaceful.

The encampment of a chieftain, near the walls of some already existing capital, was speedily converted into a new city, which eclipsed the splendour of the old one. The vanquished people were employed in its erection; the plan of the camp, which it followed in every particular, insured its symmetry, and enables us to account for its square form, and the straight lines in which its streets extended, and intersected each other at right angles.

Such was the general origin of these vast capital cities, and the process of their foundation. Where a plentiful

supply of building materials could be found at a convenient distance; a clay that the sun could dry, or the fire burn into bricks; and sources of bitumen that rendered mortar unnecessary; our surprise must be lessened at the erection of edifices and monuments such as Europe cannot equal.

These favourite residences of victorious monarchs, where luxury and delight took up their abode, insensibly became the central points of the commerce of their states. Long trains of caravans were directed towards them, and the produce of the provinces here became accumulated. That this was the case with Babylon will be shown in the following chapter.

The extent of these cities forms but little guide to the European in estimating their population. The compact close streets of Europe form a striking contrast to the scattered mansions of the East, surrounded with their extensive courts and gardens, occupying more than an even portion of the whole area. An equal space therefore was far from containing an equal number of men, as in the cities of Europe. How well these remarks apply to Babylon will be seen from the express testimony of the ancients. "The buildings of this city," says Quintus Curtius,[35] "do not reach to the walls, but are at the distance of an acre *(jugerum)* from them. Neither is the whole city covered with houses, but only ninety furlongs *(stadia)*; nor do the houses stand in rows by each other, but the intervals which separate them are sown and cultivated, that they may furnish subsistence in case of siege."[36]

Such was the origin and state of the mighty Babylon, whose majesty and splendour was so celebrated in antiquity. Much of its glory was due to the Chaldeans, whose monarchs, having achieved by their swords the sovereignty of Asia, made it their habitation. "Is not this great Babylon that I have built!" was the proud exclamation of its king Nebuchadnezzar.[37]—Still more expressive is the testimony of the prophet: "Behold the land of the Chaldeans; that

[35] CURTIUS, v. 12. Without doubt from the accounts of one who accompanied Alexander. Should not therefore Herodotus's account of the high houses and straight streets be limited to one part of the city?

[36] *Per nonaginta stadia habitatur.* He estimates the whole extent at three hundred and sixty-eight stadia.

[37] DAN. iv. 27.

nation which a little time since was not. The Assyrian subdued it, and gave it to the inhabitants of the desert! they transformed the wandering hordes of nations into settled abodes; and built up the palaces of the land."[38]

Ancient Babylon, from the character and arrangement of its buildings, was prevented from leaving monuments to posterity worthy of comparison with those of Persepolis; but its heaps, or rather mountains of rubbish still interest the attention of the philosopher and historian. The most ancient of ancient ruins, the very traditions of whose origin reach back to the earliest dawn of history! A living witness, as it were, of the truth of the first records of our sacred books. However changed during the lapse of thousands of years, that first building began by the nations has not altogether vanished from the earth!

It was again, in this case, reserved for the present age to throw a clearer light upon this great object, by exploring the site of ancient Babylon, the only means by which it could be effected.

Notwithstanding the labours of so many early travellers, and among others of Niebuhr, who first led the way, various obstacles prevented any one of them from making an accurate examination of the monuments of Babylon; and the most important, or at least the largest, were precisely those which still remained enveloped in almost total obscurity. Recent English travellers, among whom Sir Ker Porter holds the first rank, raised at length the veil which had so long covered these venerable remains of the primeval world.[39]

According to Herodotus, the only ancient writer who, as an eye-witness, has left a description of ancient Babylon,[40]

[38] Isaiah, xxiii. 13. Michaelis's translation.

[39] Rich, the British resident at Bagdad, in 1811 repeatedly visited Babylon, accompanied by his friend Belino, a German. The fruits of their researches were a first and second *Memoir on the Ruins of Babylon*, Lond. 1818. Seven years later, Porter, likewise accompanied by Belino, visited and explored the site of the ancient city; and his exact, and detailed, and very interesting descriptions are given in his *Travels in Georgia, Persia, Babylonia*, etc. vol. ii. p. 293—390, with views and plans. I would, once for all, remark, that they are to be regarded as the authority for the following statements where no other is quoted. The accompanying plan, by the assistance of my friend, Professor Otfr. Müller, has been reduced from plates 73, 74, of Porter. There is also an Essay on ancient Babylon, by Captain Fredcrick, in the *Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay*, Lond. 1823; those who have seen Porter may dispense with this.

[40] Herod. 178—181. The particulars mentioned by Diod. i. p. 121, etc.,

the city formed a perfect square, of which each side was one hundred and twenty stadia (twelve geographical miles) long. It was built on both banks of the Euphrates, which divided it into two parts connected by a stone bridge, with wooden planks laid over for the pathway, which might be removed at pleasure. The banks of the river were lined with bricks. In the midst of one quarter of the city stood the royal palace; in the other, the temple of Bel, in a quadrangular enclosure two stadia in circumference. In the midst of the same rises a tower composed of eight stories; the lowermost being one stadia in length and breadth; around which runs up a flight of steps with resting places. Upon the uppermost tower stands the sanctuary, in which is placed a table and couch of solid gold, but no statue. The city was surrounded by a deep and wide moat full of water, and faced with bricks; behind which was an embankment, or wall, two hundred royal cubits high, built of the earth, dug out of the moat, burnt into bricks, with doors at the top. A second wall, of almost equal strength, formed a further defence between the other and the city: the royal palace also was fortified. The streets were built in straight lines running in two directions, and cutting each other at right angles; those towards the river had gates of brass. The houses were built three and four stories high; and Babylon was the most richly adorned city that the historian had ever seen.

Setting aside for the present the two questions relative to

evidently borrowed from Ctesias, who undoubtedly visited Babylon, contain numerous events not to be found in Herodotus; such, for example, as those relating to the hanging gardens, the double royal palace, etc. Ctesias, however, not only recounts what he saw himself, but also what he heard. Such, too, is in some measure the case with Herodotus, who certainly saw the exterior of the temple of Belus, which was still in good preservation, though he could not obtain a sight of the interior, which had been previously pillaged by Xerxes. He must likewise have seen the royal palace of Babylon, since the kings of Persia were accustomed to pass a part of the winter in that capital; but Darius had already, at its capture, thrown down the walls, or at least a part of them, (HEROD. iii. 159,) and the particulars of their prodigious height and thickness rest upon a relation made to Herodotus, which he repeats as he heard it, and which the reader must modify according to his belief. We must not however judge of them from what we see around us. The Chinese wall which now exists, could not have been built in Europe; this, and the Median wall, built also of brick, which once bounded Babylonia on the north, and extended from the Tigris to the Euphrates, though perhaps not so high, were certainly longer than those of Babylon. At all events it is sufficiently clear from the history of the siege of Babylon, by Darius, that the walls of this city were of an extraordinary height and solidity.

the position of the principal monuments, and the extent of ancient Babylon, let us take a survey of the ruins as they at present exist, according to the latest information. This will be much facilitated by the plan annexed to this volume. I hope, after this preparation, I shall be able to investigate the above two, otherwise difficult, questions, with less labour both to myself and reader.

Rich and Porter both sought the ruins of Babylon on the banks of the Euphrates, near the little modern town of Hilla, 32° 31′ N. lat. Starting from Bagdad, about fifty miles further north on the Tigris, the first place Porter arrived at was Akkerkuf on the Tigris, where the Median wall formerly reached this river; thence taking a south-west direction, he crossed the plain to the Euphrates. The direct journey thence to Babylon is forty-four miles, the intervening space being a completely level, but now uncultivated plain; though the numerous canals, now dry, by which it is every where intersected, as well as the fragments of bricks and tiles with which it is every where strewed, are proofs of its former different state. Here and there an isolated caravanserai points out the usual resting place, and offers the traveller its scanty accommodation. At the last of these, near the village of Mahowill, ten miles from Hilla, begin, properly speaking, the ruins of Babylon; the rest of the way being every where covered with unburnt bricks, evidently the remains of a great, wide-spread city.

The great ruins which first strike the eye of the traveller in coming from Bagdad by the way of Mahowill, lie on the east side of the river northward of Hilla. Their first appearance is that of natural hills, but a closer examination soon clearly shows, that they are composed of bricks, and are evidently the remains of large buildings. Three of these immense mounds are found in succession from north to south, on the eastern side of the Euphrates.

In the language of the Arabians, one now bears the name of *Mukallibe*,[41] (the overturned,) the second, *El Kasr*, (the palace,) and the third, the Amram hill (the grave of a saint of that name).

The first mound, *a*, Mukallibe, is the most northern, and

[41] Pronounced by the Arabians *Mojalibe*.

the largest of the three.[42] It is formed of bricks dried in the sun. The whole forming an oblong square, the top of which presents an uneven surface, having the appearance of a platform, upon which some great buildings had formerly been erected. The interior is full of ravines and holes, now the resort of wild beasts, which renders the entrance dangerous. In an opened apartment Mr. Rich found a wooden sarcophagus, containing a skeleton, covered with nitre, whose great antiquity admitted of no doubt. This building has been erroneously taken for the ancient temple of Belus, its structure being quite opposed to the pyramidical form in which this was built. It was probably the fortress which defended this quarter of the town, in which the royal palace was situated. Nothing more can be said of it with any degree of certainty.

At two thousand two hundred and fifty feet south of this hill, is the second hill, *b*, named by the Arabs *El Kasr*, or the palace. When visited by Rich, it was nearly a square of seven hundred yards in length and breadth. But even in the seven years which intervened between this visit and that of Porter, the everlasting digging and carrying away of the bricks had been sufficient to change its shape. What then must have been its size twenty centuries before! Every vestige discoverable in it declares it to have been composed of buildings far superior to all the rest which have left traces in the eastern quarter of the city. The bricks are of the finest description, hardened not in the sun but in the fire, perfectly moulded and ornamented with inscriptions. And notwithstanding they have been taken away from this place, as from a great storehouse for centuries, they appear still to be abundant. But these continued robberies have disfigured the appearance of the hill. Deep pits and ravines have been dug out, and in some places they have bored into the solid mass, forming winding caverns and subterranean passages.

Besides these bricks, fragments of alabaster vessels, fine earthen ware, marble, and great quantities of polished tiles, the glazing and colouring of which are surprisingly fresh,

[42] Its present height, which, according to Porter, is the same it always was, is 140 feet; the northern, which is the longest side, is 542; and the south and east sides 230 feet. The four points are placed according to the opposite points of the compass.

are still found. The walls are eight feet in thickness, in some places ornamented with niches, and in others strengthened by pilasters. The face of every brick on which the inscription is stamped was universally turned downwards. The upper side of each row was covered with a layer of cement; and on this, carefully prepared, the face of the succeeding row was bedded. The firmness of these masses is so great, that in spite of the bricks being the hardest of any that Porter had met with, he found they would not bear detaching. It was only after considerable labour, that he succeeded in chipping off a few pieces, although the layers of cement are not more than the twentieth part of an inch in thickness. Along the western and northern face of this great mound, are detached portions of a wall, which probably composed the piers or buttresses of the terraces, attached to the celebrated hanging gardens described by Diodorus, and which, according to Curtius, had the appearance of a forest. In the ruins which now remain, lines of long passages and square chambers may be easily traced, which commanded a view of the city. Amongst these ruins stands a solitary tree, of a species altogether strange to this country. It bears every mark of high antiquity, its originally enormous trunk being worn away, and shattered by time, while its spreading and evergreen branches are particularly beautiful, and adorned with long tress-like tendrils; probably the last descendant of those hanging gardens, which were numbered among the wonders of the world.

About two thousand four hundred feet from Kasr, is Amram hill, *c*. This great mass spreads over a vaster expanse every way than that of Kasr, and is now of a triangular form. Its longest side, on the south-west, is no less than four thousand two hundred feet; the shortest, on the north, is two thousand five hundred. The whole of this stupendous heap is broken, like that of the Kasr, into deep caverned ravines, and long winding furrows, from the number of bricks that have been taken away; so that it now has the appearance of an ordinary heap of irregular form. It is a shapeless assemblage of bricks, mortar, and cement, where the foot of the traveller plunges at every step into dust and rubbish. Its former state or designation it is now impossible to determine.

Several lofty corresponding ridges or mounds of ramparts surround the space occupied by these different heaps; and notwithstanding their ruinous state, it is easy to discover their ancient designation; which, without doubt, was the defence of this large space, and all the establishments it contained. The outermost line of defence begins on the north-west of Mukallibe, at the point *d*, surrounds this fort, and stretches in a straight line to point *e*, in a south-east direction. Here there is an opening, *f*, where, without doubt, once stood a stately entrance; it then returns in a south-west direction, *g*, beyond the hill of Amram, which it encloses towards the river; so that it forms with this a great triangle, of which the curved line *h*—*i* (the river) forms the base, and the two lines *e* and *g* the two sides. Within this triangle run two wall lines of defence, of which one forms an angle to the other; the first near *k*; and, two hundred paces behind this, parallel to it, a second, near *l*, which, however, in the midst has a large opening.

Behind these triple lines rise the three great mounds above described, together with some smaller ones. But all that part of the river which forms the base of the triangle is defended by a wall enclosure, composed of bricks dried in the sun, and rising in some places sixty feet above the bed of the river; in this most likely were fixed the splendid gates of brass that defended the city towards the river. In Porter's plan, the length of the base of the great triangle, formed by the Euphrates, is three English miles and three quarters; the length of the northern shank, two miles and three quarters; and that of the southern, two miles and a half, reckoning from the opening near *f*, to the river.

All that has thus far been described lies on the eastern bank of the river. Let us now take a view of the western, which Porter had an opportunity of minutely exploring. The earlier opinion, which even Rennel adopted, and which, owing to the very defective information that had then been obtained, placed the temple of Bel and the royal palace on the eastern side of the river, is now completely refuted;[43]

[43] However valuable, therefore, may be the chart of the country of Babylonia by this great geographer, the ground plan of the city contained in the same sheet can be of no practical use. Rich, in his second Memoir, has examined and confuted Rennel's opinion.

and the local of this immense city obtains, by more recent investigations, an extent corresponding to what we are told of it by the ancients; though it cannot be supposed that modern research, often directed to the mere tracing of ruins, rather than to ruins themselves, should produce measurements and definitions as exact as if the whole ancient city, not only with its walls, its palaces, and temples, but likewise its houses and their offices, remained in its full extent, unchanged.

The western bank of the Euphrates certainly contains no such mounds of ruins as those lying opposite on the eastern; for scarcely any eye could discover the largest of them, (the ruins of Nimrod's fort, of which we shall presently speak,) at a greater distance than twelve miles. But notwithstanding this, the researches of Porter lead to some highly interesting results. I shall here quote that traveller's own words:[44] "We left the town of Hillah on the western bank of the Euphrates, by the gate nearest the river, which gave our march a northerly direction. In this route, having crossed four dry canals, and found for two miles beyond them the ground perfectly level, we approached the village of Anana. It is situated on the western bank of the Euphrates, almost immediately opposite the ruins of the Amram and Kasr hills, and is distant nearly three miles from Hillah. About fifty yards to the north-west of the village of Anana rises a rather considerable ridge of mounded earth, fourteen feet high, running due north for three hundred yards, then forming a right angle due east, takes that direction till it meets the river. All around was very low and marshy, and the mounds in question were nearly all I could see for a good way up along this bank of the stream. On the face of the ridge, terminating at the water-side, the courses of the sun-dried brick are distinctly visible; but the level of the land is now so equal with that of the river, that any more abundant traces of a corresponding embankment to that on the opposite shore must be confessed to be no longer discernible; yet the discovery of one link is sufficient for concluding that others have formerly been there to complete the chain. But why this western dike has been so much

[44] Travels, ii. 379.

more nearly totally demolished than its eastern neighbour, we cannot conjecture: the fact only is certain; and the consequence probably has been, that the want of any protection from the superflux of the river has rendered its 'besom of destruction' more completely sweeping over this level tract. Some trifling mounded hillocks however are perceivable a little to the south of the village.

"Having traversed the plain north-west for some time, in search of further mounds in that direction, I turned, disappointed, and bent my way south-west, keeping the Birs Nimrod in my eye. After riding onward about a mile, I found the little vegetation which cheered the waste gradually disappear, and the ground become perfectly sterile. All over this surface evident marks are visible of its having been formerly covered with buildings; these indications increased at every step, till, after such growing proofs for more than a mile, we came to a numerous and very conspicuous assemblage of mounds; the most considerable of which was about thirty-five feet in height; and from its elevated summit I observed that the face of the country, both to the north and the south, for upwards of a mile either way, bore the same hillocky appearance; besides being thickly scattered with those fragments of past habitations, which, in all Babylonian ruins, have so particularly marked their character. Here, doubtless, is the trace of a building of considerable consequence, *o*. The extent of its mounds and ruins-tracked ground seemed more than two miles; and having traversed that extent to the south-west, I found the hilly vestiges did not cease for a mile beyond. Here, I think it is possible, I may have found the site of the old or lesser palace.

"On quitting this first extensive heap of mounds, which, for perspicuity at least, I shall designate by the name of lesser palace, and keeping on in the same direction (south-west) we crossed a space of high grass and rank weeds for nearly a mile; we then found the plain arid again, and undulated with a multitude of mounds, but of inferior elevation to those last described; these two were attended by the usual exterior fragments of ruins, spreading in a circular form rather more than half a mile in breadth. Having duly explored this second specimen of considerable remains, we came out upon a great deal of cultivated ground, over which

we took our course for more than a mile, when we arrived at the banks of a canal, the bed of which we crossed, and half a mile more brought us to an extensive wood of date trees, in the bosom of which stands the village of Thamasia. We did not halt there, but passed on over two miles of cultivation and high grass, at which extremity a vast tract opened before us, covered with every minor vestige of former buildings; and which appearances continued the whole way to the eastern verge of the boundary around the Birs Nimrod, a distance of nearly a mile and three quarters."

Thus then we come to the most distant but largest monument which yet remains of ancient Babylonia. The Arab name of the Birs Nimrod is I think translated as exactly as possible by that of Nimrod's tower. Although Niebuhr saw it at a distance, and mentioned it in his Travels, neither he nor his predecessors had the satisfaction of exploring it.[45] This pleasure was reserved for Rich, an English resident at Bagdad, who was followed a short time after by Sir Ker Porter, to whom we are indebted for the most exact researches and details, as well as the best drawings on the subject. This huge mass of building lies about six miles south-west of Hillah. It has the appearance of an oblong hill, the base of which, according to Porter, is two thousand and eighty-two feet in circumference. Rich reckons it at two thousand two hundred and eighty-six.[46] It may easily be conceived that it is scarcely possible to fix in a positive manner the circumference of such a ruin. Its present height, reckoning to the bottom of the tower, standing on its summit, is two hundred feet; the tower itself is thirty-five. Looking at it from the west, the entire mass rises at once from the plain in one stupendous, though irregular, pyramidal hill. It is composed of fine bricks, kiln-baked. From the western side two of its stories may be distinctly seen; the first is about sixty feet high, cloven in the middle by deep ravines. The tower-like looking ruin on the summit is a solid mass twenty-eight feet wide, of the most beautiful masonry; to all appearance it formed an angle of some square building, the ruins of which are yet to be seen on the

[45] Niebuhr mentions (*Reise* ii. §. 290) with regret his having been prevented by apprehension of the wild tribes in the desert from closely examining it.

[46] Rich's *Memoir*, p. 36.

eastern side. The cement which connects the bricks is so hard, that it was impossible to chip off the smallest piece; and for this reason none of the inscriptions can be copied, as they are always on the lower surface of the bricks. It is rent from the top nearly half way to the bottom; and at its foot lay several unshapen masses of fine brick-work, still bearing traces of a violent fire, which has given them a vitrified appearance, whence it has been conjectured that it has been struck by lightning. The appearance of the hill on the eastern side evidently shows that this enormous mass has been reduced more than half. Only three stories out of the eight which it formerly contained can now be discerned. The earth about the bottom of the hill is now clear, but is again surrounded by walls, which form an oblong square, enclosing numerous heaps of rubbish, probably once the dwellings of the inferior deities, or of the priests and officers of the temple. The appearance of the tower of Nimrod is sublime even in its ruins. Clouds play around its summit; its recesses are inhabited by lions, three being quietly basking on its heights when Porter approached it,[47] and, scarcely intimidated by the cries of the Arabs, gradually and slowly descended into the plain. Thus the words of the prophet have been fulfilled: "wild beasts of the desert shall lie there; owls shall fill their houses, ostriches shall dwell there, and satyrs shall dance there. Jackals shall howl in their palaces, and wild hounds in their pleasant places."[48]

Previously to giving my opinion upon these monuments separately, it will be necessary to determine from history, the epochs of the rise, the aggrandisement, and embellishment of ancient Babylon. Its foundation must be carried back to the time of Nimrod, the first chieftain in those regions; when a tower, that is a sanctuary, a temple, and a city were built here by the nations.[49] Whether this temple was consecrated to some idol, Bel, or any other, we are not informed; but supposing this to have been the case, it accounts for the wrath of Jehovah, who descended to interrupt the progress of the building. Near this temple was built a city. The age, not merely of the tower, but of the oldest city of the earth, of which any vestiges yet exist, cannot be

[47] *Travels*, ii. p. 387. [48] ISAIAH, xiii. 20, 21. [49] GENES. xi. 4.

computed to a year; but, according to general chronology, it dates from some where about the second century after the flood.

The second epoch is that of Semiramis. Diodorus relates in detail all that is attributed to this queen. She made Babylon the seat of her government. She built the outer walls; erected two royal castles or palaces upon the two banks of the Euphrates, of which that upon the western side, within a triple enclosure, was by far the most magnificent. She not only built a bridge over the river, but erected quays on each bank, and dug a subterraneous tunnel under it, which connected the two royal residences. Lastly, to her is attributed the foundation of the temple of Belus.[50]

It is of little consequence whether we consider Semiramis as belonging to mythology or history. The great works attributed to her must in either case be carried back to a period previous to the Chaldean conquest; whether she founded them herself, or whether she merely obtained the credit for doing what had been accomplished by a series of the most ancient sovereigns of Babylon. According to Herodotus, who calls her husband Ninus, her reign must be placed about 1200 years before Christ.[51]

The third epoch, perfectly historical, that of the aggrandisement and embellishment of Babylon, falls in the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, after the Chaldean conquest, from 604 to 561 before Christ. This is placed beyond a doubt, by the contemporary accounts of the Hebrew writers. Besides this, Josephus has left us in the fragments which he has preserved of the books of Berosus, positive accounts of the works began and executed by Nebuchadnezzar.[52] "He built a three-fold wall or entrenchment round about the inner city, and another in like manner about that which

[50] Diodor. i. 121, who informs us expressly, that the palace on the western side was far the most splendid; and at the same time describes not only its dimensions, but likewise its ornaments, composed of great pictorial representations of hunting scenes, etc. The tradition of a way under the river, which Ctesias, from whom Diodorus evidently copied, certainly did not see, probably arose from subterranean caverns near the palaces, which were indispensable in this climate. What wonderful stories have not been told of subterranean passages and vaults in our cloisters and castles?

[51] Reckoning the Assyrian empire, according to his account, i. 95, to have continued 520 years.

[52] Josephus, *Arch.* x. 349, etc.

was the outer, all of burnt brick. And when he had walled the city about, and adorned its gates gloriously, he built another palace by the side of his father's, but so that they joined. To describe their vast height and great splendour would be superfluous. In this royal seat he also erected terraces of stone, which resembled mountains, and planted it with various kinds of trees, which was called a suspended paradise; because his wife, who had been bred up in Media, was desirous of having things like her own country."

These were the epochs of the advancement and embellishments of Babylon, up to the conquest of Cyrus, by which it became a Persian city. How grievously the Babylonians felt this yoke is proved by their general revolt at the commencement of the reign of Darius, who, after the capture of Babylon, by the stratagem of Zopirus, demolished the greater part, if not the whole, of its outward walls.

Although it was the winter residence of the kings of Persia, it had already much declined when conquered by Alexander. Xerxes had despoiled the temple of Bel of its most precious ornaments and utensils; the temple itself began to wear the appearance of decline; and the canals of the environs were stagnant and poisonous. Had not death defeated the grand projects of Alexander, the venerable Babylon would have become the capital of his empire; the central point of the land and sea commerce of the world. She would probably have become the flourishing and mighty queen of nations, and the destinies of the human race might have been altogether changed. But inscrutable Providence, who disposes of all according to his will, recalled, in the midst of his career, the only man capable of giving peace to the world, as it then existed, and of securing it a durable form. His death decided the fate of Babylon. The new cities of Selucia, Ctesiphon, and others, arose in its neighbourhood; and as the materials were almost entirely fetched from its inexhaustible magazines,[53] they were built, as it were, at her expense. Thus was that ancient city laid waste and transformed into a wild, where the hunter might await his prey, where the beast might flee before his pursuer, and where he still takes up his habitation.

[53] PLIN. H. N. vi. 30.

The foregoing elucidations, I conceive, justify me in making the following conclusions.

First. The accounts given by the ancients, and especially by Herodotus, respecting the extent and situation of ancient Babylon, seem to be confirmed by the investigations of the moderns quite as much as could be expected, considering the nature of its ruins. Herodotus states its length and breadth to have been one hundred and twenty stadia, or twelve geographical miles. From the most southern mound of ruins, to the northernmost one, that is to say, from the Birs Nimrod to Mukallibe, is upwards of eight miles in a straight line. Vestiges of ancient buildings, however, which are still found for upwards of three miles beyond Mohavil, prove very plainly, that the city extended towards the north beyond Mukallibe. Whether also it extended towards the south, beyond the Birs Nimrod, has not yet been determined; but if I succeed, as I hope soon to do, in showing that the Birs Nimrod is the ancient temple of Bel, this conjecture will be confirmed; since this temple was not situated at the end of the city, but in its interior. Thus the length of ancient Babylon, from north to south, may be estimated at twelve miles; as regards its width from west to east, we have no such positive data, because, at the extremities of the ruins in this direction, there are no great monuments. Nevertheless, from the most western heap of ruins, to the eastern point, where the opening of the great triangle, of which I have above spoken, (from *f* to *o*,) may be reckoned at five or six miles; and that the city extended beyond both these points will, in the sequel, be made very clearly to appear.

Secondly. It is not only proved from the most recent investigations, that ancient Babylon was situated on the banks of the Euphrates, and that the course of this river has undergone no important change;[54] but it also becomes highly probable, that the western part of this city, whose existence has been doubted, was the largest. The distance from Nimrod's tower to the most northern hill, *m*, beyond the village of Anana, is very nearly six geographical miles; and that

[54] Only that in the neighbourhood of the hanging gardens, the river on the eastern side has gained upon the land, so that the ancient embankment is now at some distance from the shore, as is pointed out in the plan.

the width of this part of the city could not have been less, is sufficiently evident from the statements of Porter given above.

Thirdly. This traveller I believe to be correct in considering this western quarter of the city as the most ancient. It is said by him to be that which included not only the primeval city and tower of Nimrod, but likewise, at least the greatest portion, of the mighty works attributed to Semiramis. This explains why, with the exception of the tower of Nimrod, which thousands of years have not been able to destroy, so few great ruins are to be found in this western quarter; for not only time, but the neglect occasioned by the aggrandisement of the eastern quarter, must have hastened its decay.

Fourthly. The tower of Nimrod is the ancient temple of Bel, which, therefore, was in the western quarter of the city, and not in the eastern, as was formerly generally believed. This must be at once admitted, if it can be established, that the western quarter of the city was the most ancient; a fact which will receive additional support from what we shall have to say upon the eastern. It has been very clearly proved by Porter, that neither the situation nor form of a single eastern ruin, (nor Mukallibe, as Rennel believed,) will agree with the ancient temple of Bel.

The Birs Nimrod, however, corresponds with it, first in form; for of the eight stories, which it had originally, three can still be made out. It corresponds with it, secondly, in dimensions, for its length and breadth agree with what is stated by Herodotus, so far as they can be determined from a mountain-heap of ruins. It corresponds, finally, with the statement of the same historian, that this pyramid-formed sanctuary stood within a square enclosure; for the remains of such a one are still very clearly to be traced. It is impossible to carry the comparison further than this respecting a building now reduced to a heap of rubbish. Even when seen by Herodotus it had been destroyed by Xerxes, and, at least in part, lay in ruins. So immense, however, were they, that Alexander, who entertained the idea of restoring it, was obliged to abandon even the clearing away of the rubbish, upon which he employed his army, after having in

vain tried the Babylonians upon it.[55] Besides, it is no where stated, that the temple of Bel was erected in the eastern quarter of the city; but only that it stood in the midst of one quarter. Whether this is to be taken in a strict sense, or whether it means no more than that it was situated within the city, it will be impossible to determine, unless some other traveller be able to inform us, whether to the south of Nimrod's tower, as well as on the other sides, traces of the ancient city are still to be found for any considerable distance.

Fifthly. If Nimrod's tower be the ancient temple of Bel, then it must be admitted that it belongs to the oldest ruins of Babylon; or rather that it is *the* oldest. There seems nothing to oppose this fact; while all seems to speak in favour of its being the remains of that primeval building erected by the assembly of nations, whose top should reach to heaven, but whose completion was prevented by Jehovah. It may be assumed that its site was westward of the stream, because it was built by the descendants of Noah, when they were journeying from west to east. "As they now towards the east journeyed," it is said, "they found a plain in the land of Sinear, and dwelt therein."[56] It was built of the same material as that of which the ruin consists. "And spake they to one another: Let us make and burn bricks. And take bricks as stone and clay for lime."[57] There is no reason why so mighty a building should have been entirely swept from the earth, in so dry and favourable a climate, where so many smaller have been preserved. Its preservation seems in some measure accounted for, from its having been, after the adoption of the worship of the stars, the temple of the national deity; (whether, as I believe, the sun, or, as some others think, the planet Jupiter;[58]) and likewise the astrological sanctuary. It is almost needless to add, that this supposition in no way militates against the gradual additions, aggrandisement, and embellishments, which it afterwards received, and which were again, in the course of centuries, reduced to ruins. Neither can any thing be argued

[55] ARRIAN, vii. 17.
[56] GEN. xi. 2. [The English translation has it *from* the East. *Trs.*]
[57] GEN. xi. 3, 4. [58] GESENIUS *in Isaiah*, ii. p. 395.

against its high antiquity, from bricks with inscriptions having been found amongst its ruins. The only question here is respecting the original foundation—the first and mightiest that the hand of man erected; and what higher confirmation can there be of the most ancient record we possess, than the existence of the most ancient monument, mentioned by its inspired author?

Sixthly. Modern investigations confirm also the particulars respecting the two royal palaces in Babylon. These ancient residences of the kings before the Chaldean dynasty, were among the great works of Semiramis, and were still existing in the time of Alexander. Here he was taken ill, and causing himself to be transported across the river, died in the Chaldean palace, on the eastern side, of which we shall presently have occasion to speak. It is true, there are no such remains of the western palace, as we have of the eastern; but the vestiges of a large edifice, near *o*, which led Porter to conjecture,[59] that the western edifice must have been here situated, are sufficient to confirm the testimony of Diodorus and others respecting the two royal palaces on the opposite sides of the river. It is to this author we are indebted for the description, borrowed from Ctesias, of the western palace. It is represented as having a triple enclosure; the first, sixty stadia; the second, forty stadia; and the innermost, the palace itself, twenty stadia. The walls were adorned with large pictorial representations of the hunting of wild beasts, similar to those which are still found of a later period, that of the Sassanides, upon the walls of the rock grottoes at Kermanshah. Though these buildings have been swept away by time, yet the conjecture of Porter, who, in the great and extensive elevations, would see the remains of these enclosures, seem in the highest degree probable.

Seventhly. The eastern quarter of the city was the later, but probably the most magnificent. It was the city of the Chaldeans, where Nabopolasser and his son Nebuchadnezzar reigned, and erected their royal dwellings. Here, on the eastern bank of the river, was situated the new eastern palace. "When Nebuchadnezzar," says Josephus,[60] quoting

[59] PORTER, ii. p. 308.

[60] See above, p. 396. I repeat the passage here at length.

from Berosus, "after the death of his father, had taken upon himself the administration of the government of the empire of his father, and directed that when the captives came they should be distributed as colonies, in the most convenient places of Babylonia. Then adorned he the temple of Bel and the rest of the temples in a magnificent manner, with the spoils he had taken in war. He also embellished the ancient city, and so guided the stream, that it might not again be turned by such that came against the city to besiege it. He surrounded it about with a triple enclosure without, and with a triple one within, which were built of burnt brick. And after he had fortified the city, and splendidly adorned the gates, he built a new palace near that of his father, of the magnitude and splendour of which it would be superfluous to speak. He added to it elevated stone terraces, which had the appearance of mountains; and then planted them with various kinds of trees; and prepared the celebrated suspended paradise; to please his consort, who, having been brought up in Media, was desirous of having scenery here like that of her native country."

This account agrees in general with what is said by the prophets of the improvements and beautifying of Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar; although the latter enter into no particular detail. But the statements of Josephus are in a striking manner confirmed (with the exception of what regards the outward wall, of which nothing remains) by the existing ruins, if a proper idea, corresponding with the circumstances, be first formed of the extent of this palace. It is not a mere palace that is to be understood, but a division of the eastern city; comprising not only the palace itself, as well as the suspended gardens, and many other great buildings, but also a triple line of fortification for its defence. And traces of all these may even now be pointed out with all the precision that could be expected. This new palace, as I call it, to distinguish it from the more ancient one in the western quarter, comprised the whole above-mentioned triangle, of which the Euphrates, *h*—*i*, forms the somewhat irregular base, and the lines, *d e*, and *g h*, the sides. These lines also were the outermost of the three interior entrenchments. One of these sides ended in the north, near the

fort, now called Mukallibe, which, whether merely a citadel, or destined for some other use, defended the palace on its northern side. The opening between the two sides, *f*, formed the grand entrance, or principal gateway, to the palace. The line *k* marks the second entrenchment; the line *l*, the third; between which, other openings occur. It was only through these three entrenchments that visitors could approach the interior part of the residence, in which was situated the royal palace, (El Kasr,) *b*, and near to it, along the river, the hanging gardens.

So far as we can gather from the words of Josephus, the palace was built by Nabopolasser, the father of Nebuchadnezzar; for he says, near to the palace of his father, built he a new one, which is understood to be the vast construction called the hanging gardens, *p*. This I believe to be the correct interpretation; for Josephus expressly says, Nebuchadnezzar's palace touched that of his father's. If we had not however this authority, either the northern fortress, or even the great southern mound *Amram*, near *c*, might be taken for it; for as they are merely great heaps of rubbish, nothing can be determined respecting their former designation. That the hanging gardens were founded by Nebuchadnezzar, and not by Semiramis, is confirmed by Diodorus, where he says, that a Syrian (Assyrian) king built them to please his consort. If this consort be regarded as Herodotus's Nitocris, and according to his chronology, and his calling her the mother of the last king, Labynedus, such would appear to be the case, then becomes cleared up how Nitocris came to be mentioned as having embellished Babylon by the great works she caused to be executed.

At all events, however, these hanging gardens, or paradises, must not be considered as merely gardens. They formed together a vast construction of terraces, of which Diodorus has left us the dimensions and description.[61] They rested upon immense buttresses; were supplied with water from the neighbouring river, by hydraulic machines; and contained, as is expressly stated by this historian,[62] royal

[61] I do not believe that these particulars, so accurately given, could have been taken from Ctesias. Perhaps they were borrowed from Megasthenes, who, according to Josephus, l. c., had described the works of Nebuchadnezzar.

[62] *διαιτας βασιλικὰς*, DIOD. i. p. 125.

habitations, as well as gardens. That the Persian expression *paradisus* comprises all these, may be seen in the inquiry upon the Persian court. With much propriety, therefore, might these spacious works be called a new residence; a summer residence, in our phraseology, (though rather a winter one, as that is the only season in which man can here live in the open air,) which stood contiguous to the palace El Kasr, built by the father. That this building could be no other than the proper palace, is evident from its situation in the centre of the inhabited quarter, as well as from the nature of its materials, which entirely consist of kiln-burnt bricks, and also from the numerous fragments of costly vessels and marble which are found here.

Should, however, after all this, any doubt remain respecting the correctness of my views, it will, I should hope, vanish, upon comparing them with the account Arrian has left us respecting the latter days of Alexander.[63] According to this, Alexander fell sick after the banquet with Medius on the west side of the river; for from his residence there he caused himself to be removed in a palanquin to the river, and then in a boat *over* the river to the paradise, or hanging gardens. Here he bathed and rested in his chamber,[64] and gave orders to his officers. The next day he caused himself to be removed to the house near the pond, where he offered the prescribed sacrifices.[65] This pond, therefore, was a reservoir, or fountain in the paradise, near which was a place of sacrifice. On the following day, as he continued to grow worse, he caused himself to be removed from the paradise into the palace.[66] This, therefore, could be no other than the neighbouring palace, El Kasr, in which he died. It is an interesting labour to trace out accurately the scenes of great events; but it rarely happens that it is rewarded with so much success and certainty as in ancient Babylon. It was from the battlements of this fortress, that Nebuchadnezzar was gazing upon that royal Babel,

[63] ARRIAN, vii. 25. From the Royal Journal, *ἐφημέριδες βασιλικαί.*

[64] *Ἐκεῖθεν δὲ κατακομισθῆναι ἐπὶ κλίνης ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν, καὶ πλοίου ἐπιβάντα διαπλεῦσαι πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ εἰς τὸν παράδεισον· κἀκεῖ αὖθις λουσάμενον, ἀναπαύεσθαι, εἰσελθόντα εἰς τὴν καμάραν.*

[65] *Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ μετακομισθῆναι εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν πρὸς τῇ κολυμβήθρᾳ, καὶ θῦσαι μὲν τὰ τεταγμένα.*

[66] *διακομισθῆναι ἐκ τοῦ παραδείσου εἰς τὰ βασίλεια.*

which he had built as a witness of his power, when he was struck with the punishment of his haughty pride! Through those gates Cyrus and Alexander once triumphantly entered into Babylon! In those halls they dwelt; and here the Macedonian hero breathed his last!

Eighthly. Our observations upon the architecture of the Babylonians must be much more limited than upon that of the Persians. Of the latter, Persepolis still affords the remains of real buildings; of Babylon nothing is left but heaps of rubbish. Yet from these it is evident, that the character of the Babylonian style was totally different from that of the Persians. It here took its form from the nature of the materials, and the peculiarities of the climate.

The latter is dry and arid, and it scarcely ever rains. The summer half-year is insupportably hot, but during the winter season a most agreeable temperature prevails; so that in the latter, the inhabitants dwell in the open air, while in summer, coolness and shade being most in request, they pass the day in grottoes, or subterraneous vaults, and the nights upon the flat roofs of their dwellings. Building materials here, putting cement out of the question, are confined to one single substance, bricks, either dried in the sun, or burnt in kilns. It might consequently be naturally expected, that the greatest pains would here be taken in the manufacture and improvement of this article; and its durability alone is a sufficient test of the high degree of perfection to which the Babylonians carried it. No where, says Rich, is such masonry to be seen as is found here, especially in the royal palace El Kasr. Besides this, the Babylonians excelled all other nations in the preparation and use of their cement. It was of two kinds, lime and bitumen. The latter, according to Porter, was only used in the lower parts of their buildings, as a protection against the damp and wet;[67] lime was used for the upper parts. They were both spread in layers as thin as possible, and yet were wonderfully firm. With such materials, and in such a climate, the largest buildings might be erected with a durability in proportion to their size. And had not these monuments been destroyed by the digging up and carrying away of

[67] Travels, ii. p. 315.

these bricks for the erection of other cities, their great masses would still have remained, though the exterior might perhaps have crumbled to dust. Time has not done so much to destroy them as the hand of man.

The investigations respecting the use of this building material have proved, that the two kinds, the bricks dried in the sun, and those burnt in kilns, were not used indifferently. The sun-dried were mostly employed in the formation of the interior of the masses of large foundations; while the exterior of the buildings was faced with the more beautiful fabric, manufactured in the furnace.[68] The dimensions of these bricks, according to the report of all the English travellers, vary considerably, both in their largest surface, and their thickness, a fact which proves that the use of this material did not require the same mechanical force as the building with large blocks of stone. As these, however, might have been brought down the Euphrates, they may have been employed for the paving and facings of the terraces; but it would be rash to venture an opinion upon this circumstance.

The most essential peculiarity of this architecture, however, must have arisen from the exclusion of columns, which the material made use of would not allow. Neither shafts nor capitals, with their ornaments, could here be adopted. Pillars and pilasters stepped into their place. But while columns among other nations principally determine the character of their architecture, the case here must have been altogether different. What degree of taste and elegance might be displayed in the formation of these brick pillars, it is certainly impossible to determine, except that it seems evident, that nothing could be executed where roundness was required.[69] This naturally leads us to consider, whether the Babylonians were acquainted with the use of the arch. That the material they used would very well allow of this, is evident from our own buildings; and the account Diodorus gives of the vast substructures of the hanging gardens, seems certainly to point to this useful part of architecture; yet neither Rich[70] nor Porter[71] discovered in any por-

[68] PORTER'S *Travels*, ii. 330.

[69] [Round columns of brick covered with cement, are, however, now common in London buildings. *Trs.*]

[70] *Memoir*, p. 59.

[71] *Travels*, i. p. 122.

tion of the existing ruins the least trace of one, not even in the subterraneous foundations of El Kasr. The case therefore seems decided as far as it possibly can be at present.

In what relation the plastic arts, sculpture and painting, here stood with architecture, we have no means of ascertaining. The first could scarcely flourish in a land destitute of marble and stone. It is true that we read in Diodorus, in the above-quoted descriptions, of hunting and other expeditions, which were represented on the walls of Semiramis's palace.[72] That these were a mixture of sculpture and painting, or coloured reliefs, similar to those in the Egyptian temples, is certainly evident from the manner in which Diodorus describes them; but there seems some difficulty in conceiving how these could be executed upon walls of brick. Perhaps they were cut out and filled up with colours.

Finally. One of the most remarkable circumstances connected with this subject, is, that these bricks are frequently covered with inscriptions. These are found chiefly in the walls of the royal palace El Kasr, yet not here alone; they have been met with even beyond the city, in the ruins of *al Himar*, and in other places. They are composed of a very fine clay, highly burnt, and are half a foot square, and about a full inch thick. We learn from Porter, that the side with the writing on is always turned downwards; a proof of the care taken for its preservation. Hence it may be inferred, that the Babylonians made use of these bricks as a material for writing upon, as the Egyptians did papyrus, and the Indians palm-leaves. The writing was probably impressed upon the bricks by moulds before they were burnt; an approach therefore was made towards the discovery of printing, as near as their materials would admit. The characters in which the inscriptions were made, and indeed all the Babylonian wedge-shaped writing, as we learn from the investigations of Grotefend, were of one kind, derived from the second Persepolitan, but with a much greater variety of characters, though alphabetical. The language seems Babylonian, or the ancient Chaldean. Although these inscriptions have not been deciphered, and their contents consequently remain unknown; yet an important step has

[72] DIODOR. i. p. 122.

already been made towards it, as their designation seems no longer doubtful. The investigations of Bellino and Grotefend show that they are frequently found impressed with seals on the narrow side, representing beasts or other objects. In one of these, Bellino recognised a lion (the arms of Babylon); and thought that in another he could discern the unicorn. Above these stand two lines of inscription; in the upper the same form is always repeated, but in the lower one the words vary. This circumstance led them to conclude, that they were the signature of witnesses; the first line being an equivalent to *I witness*, the under one the name of the witness, accompanied with that of his father. This naturally led to the notion, that these bricks were documents, either of public or private transactions; and that the places in which they are found should be regarded as archives.[73] It must not however be concluded from this, that all the bricks of this kind with inscriptions upon them are documents; and it would be equally precipitate, if not unreasonable, to assert, that the buildings in which they are found are public or royal, or even belonging to the Chaldean dynasty. Grotefend, by comparing these inscriptions with those of Persepolis, found upon one of the bricks the name of Darius; and who can help wishing this scholar courage and opportunity to persevere in his investigations of the monuments of Babylon and Persepolis, till he shall have developed them in their full extent; especially as it is found that the correctness of his interpretation of the latter has even received an additional proof from the attempts made to refute them.[74]

I think I can scarcely offer a better confirmation of the accounts the ancients have given of Babylon, whose ruins I am now quitting, than by contrasting them with a similar description, given by a writer of the middle ages, who may be called the Herodotus of his times, and whose credibility has never been questioned.

"Near Cambalu," (that is, Pekin in China,) says Marco Polo, "Kublai-Khan, the successor of Ginghis-Khan, caused

[73] See GROTEFEND'S *Dissertation* in the *Fundgruben des Orients*, B. vi., and the Memoir presented to the Society of this place (Gottingen). *Gott. gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1819, §. 1950, etc.

[74] See the postscript to Appendix, ii.

a new city to be erected, called Taidu. This city was twenty-four miles in circumference. No side is longer than another, but each six miles. This city is encompassed with a wall ten paces wide at the bottom, but narrower above. All the streets are built in exact lines; so that a person standing at one gate of the wall can see the opposite. The sections also for the dwellings are square. In every part are large palaces surrounded with spacious courts and gardens; so that the whole city is divided into squares similar to a draft-board. The wall has twelve gates, three on each side; and at each gate is a large and splendid palace, with wide roomy halls, in which are the arms of the guards. About the city are spacious suburbs, or open places, extending for three or four miles, and joining one another. In these are great caravanserais, where the merchants abide, who arrive from different countries; each nation having its own separate one. In these suburbs too dwell the public women, to the number of 25,000, who give themselves up for money. In this great city, Cambalu, the grand Khan was wont to reside the three winter months of every year."

Will not the reader almost imagine this to be another description of ancient Babylon, with its old and new city, with its walls, its gates, its straight and regular streets, and its splendid palaces? Nor can the extent of this city be much less. Herodotus's Babylon was 408 stadia (48 miles) in circumference;[75] twice that of the city built by Kublai Khan. But in the dimensions of the latter there is neither reckoned the ancient city, near to which it was founded; nor the royal residence, which, according to Marco Polo, was of still greater extent; nor the extensive suburbs and caravanserais: so that what this traveller saw could not be less altogether than ancient Babylon; and the father of history requires no further confirmation.

Respecting the government of the Babylonian-Chaldean empire, some few particulars have been preserved, principally by the prophet Daniel. It appears, on the whole, to have been much the same as that of the Persian empire, which has already been investigated. A ruler with despotic power; a court, in which eunuchs held the highest offices;

[75] Herod. i. 178.

an empire, divided into satrapies, governed by rulers, among whom a regular gradation of rank and title was found, and where the civil and military were often, though not always, separated; collectors of tribute in the provinces; higher and inferior judges.[76] We find also a priest-caste, or priesthood, comprised under the names of Magians and Chaldeans; and which, principally by astrology and soothsaying, had a considerable influence upon the government. In what relation to society did this class stand? And how came the term Chaldeans, which originally belonged to a people, to become the name of the priesthood? These are questions which have been often agitated, but from want of sufficient information can never be satisfactorily answered.

Although Babylon did not become a mighty empire till after the Chaldean conquest; yet every thing leads us to suppose, that it had long before been the seat of science and civilization, though principally confined to the order of priests. Unless this had been the case, how could those great works, more especially the mighty canals and lakes, ascribed to their earlier rulers, without which the city could not have existed, or the land have been cultivated, have been executed? There is no doubt that astronomy, or rather astrology, formed a great branch of their learning; and whatever opinion may be formed of the degree of perfection to which they had carried these sciences, it seems an indisputable fact, that at the time of Alexander's conquest, astronomical observations existed, and were imparted to him, which are affirmed to reach back for nineteen centuries.[77]

This, combined with various other proofs, seems to render it evident, that the Magians had been established in Babylon long before its conquest by the Chaldeans. As the primitive Magian religion had its origin in the worship of the heavenly bodies, and spread itself over so large a portion of Asia, it is the less to be wondered at that it should have made its way into Babylon, where the continual clear-

[76] BERTHOLD has attempted to enumerate these various officers, and to determine the business of each, in an excursus to his *Translation of Daniel*, to which I more particularly refer the reader.

[77] Very honourable for the Chaldeans is the opinion which the latest writer has given of their progress in astronomy. IDELER, *ueber der Sternkunde der Chaldæer;* among the treatises of the Berlin academy of sciences for the years 1814 and 1815, *Berlin*, 1818.

ness of the sky, and the peculiar brightness of the stars, greatly facilitated astronomical observations.[78] Astrology, however, was the chief support of the Magians and the priesthood, and it was principally by its practice that they maintained their authority and influence in the state. Whether, however, these earliest Magians of Babylon were disciples and followers of Zoroaster, I cannot venture to determine. The Magian doctrine, indeed, was much older than that of the Zend, as Zoroaster only appeared in the character of its reformer. How can this question be settled, when the Babylonian cylinders and gems referring to the religion of Ormuzd may very probably belong to the Persian period? If we admit, indeed, that the Chaldeans, and it seems very likely, were descended from the Curds, then would they also belong to the Persian race, and could not have been strangers to the Magian doctrine, though they might have ingrafted other particular points of belief upon it. And if they also had their priests, as indeed the Magian worship prescribes, there is nothing very strange in their becoming united with the Babylonian Magians. They are indeed usually mentioned with them, and are only distinguished as a separate class when spoken of definitely;[79] though the two names are often confounded.[80]

In this manner, therefore, the Magians and Chaldeans formed the priest-caste in Babylon. It is certainly possible, that, according to rule, the son succeeded the father; but, that the priest-caste was not strictly hereditary, that even foreigners might be admitted to this office, if their early education had fitted them for it, is shown by the example of Daniel and his companions.[81] At their head was the high Magian, whose influence was so great, that, upon the death of the father of Nebuchadnezzar, he administered the affairs of the empire until the arrival of that prince.[82] They were divided into several classes, as expounders of the sacred writings, interpreters of dreams, astronomers, and soothsayers; and again distinguished from these are the

[78] SIMPLIC. in ARISTOT. de cœlo, p. 123; cf. PLIN. *Hist. Nat.* vii. 56.
[79] See JOSEPHUS, *Op.* 346, 347.
[80] Thus in HEROD. i. 138. CTESIAS also confounds the Magians and Chaldeans, *Pers.* i. 15.
[81] DAN. i. 4.
[82] JOSEPHUS, *Opera*, 349.

Chaldeans.[83] They dwelt not only in the capital, but also in other places; and among others, probably in establishments of which the mounds of bricks spoken of above are the remains.[84] Their connexion with the kings is clearly shown from the history of Nebuchadnezzar. Their influence was founded upon their knowledge; but their power seems never to have been so great as in the Persian court, if we may judge from the manner in which they were treated by Nebuchadnezzar; unless, indeed, we may attribute this to the personal character of that formidable conqueror.

The boundaries of the Chaldean-Babylonian empire extended as far under Nebuchadnezzar as they ever were carried, comprising Western Asia, as far as the Mediterranean. Immediately, however, upon the death of its founder, its greatness declined. Several feeble successors followed rapidly, one rising upon the overthrow of the other, till the founder of the Persian monarchy threw the last upon the heap, and made Babylon one of the capitals of his new empire. There was no city in Asia of whose possession the Persians were more jealous; and the repeated attempts of the Babylonians to shake off the foreign yoke show that they could not cloud the remembrance of their former might and greatness, nor stifle their repugnance to dependence and slavery.

[83] The authorities are collected by BERTHOLD, etc.

[84] As at Akkerkuf, Al Himar, and above all, at Borsippa, where, according to STRABO, xvi. p. 1074, there was one of their principal schools.

BABYLONIANS.

CHAPTER II.

Commerce of the Babylonians.

A LAND OF TRAFFIC—A CITY OF MERCHANTS.
EZEKIEL, xvii. 4.

As the European steps into a new world as soon as he has crossed the Alps, so is the contrast equally striking to the Asiatic traveller upon descending from the mountainous country of Persia and Media, or Irak Ajemi, into the plain of ancient Babylon and modern Bagdad, the capital of Irak Arabi. The connexion, frequently so mysterious and inexplicable, which exists between climates and countries, and even between climates and inhabitants, is here most remarkably exemplified. The manners of the people, their habitations, their dress, are all different. While in Persia and Media, the garments, though long, were closely fitted to the person; they are here, on the contrary, loose and flowing. The black sheepskin cap which covered the head, gives way to the lofty and proud folds of the turban; and the girdle, with its single knife, is replaced with the costly shawl and rich poignard. "On my entrance into the city of the Caliphs," says a modern traveller,[1] "I found the streets crowded with men in every variety of dress, and of every shade of complexion. Instead of the low dwellings peculiar to Persia, the houses were several stories high, with lattice windows closely shut. The great Bazaar was full of people, and I saw on all sides innumerable shops and coffee-houses. The sound of voices, and the rustling of silks, reminded one of the buzzing of a swarm of bees. For even now, though but the shadow of its former splendour, Bagdad is still the

[1] PORTER, ii. 243, etc.

grand caravanserai of Asia." But what a change has taken place in manners and modes of life! The rigid etiquette of the Persian court has disappeared; the tone of society, the relation of the sexes is under less constraint; and every thing betokens pleasure and voluptuousness. Though in the hot season the glowing sky forces the inhabitants during the day into their under-ground vaults; yet they enjoy the balmy coolness of night in the open air on their housetops. The delightful temperature of the winter months, from the middle of November to that of February, compensates for the inconveniences of summer, though at the same time it offers irresistible incentives to all manner of sensual enjoyments.

It must surely have been the same in former times. Can it be supposed that those who came down the Euphrates from the royal cities of Persia and Media to the great city of traffic, had not the same spectacle before their eyes? But what is modern Bagdad compared with the ancient capital of the East? What crowds must have once thronged the streets and squares of that city, when the caravans of the East and West with the crews of ships trading to the South were there collected together; when the Chaldee and Persian sovereigns, with their numberless attendants, made it their residence; when it was the emporium of the world, and the great centre of attraction to all nations! How bustling and animated must not these desolate places have been formerly, where all now is still, save the call of the Bedouin, or the roaring of the lion!

The accounts of ancient Babylon given by Jewish and Grecian writers, set before us a picture of wealth, magnificence, and pomp; though at the same time, a less pleasing representation of luxury and licentiousness. Their banquets were carried to a disgusting excess, and the pleasures of the table degenerated into debauchery; nay, at the very time when the victorious Persians rushed into the city, the princes of Babylon were engaged in festivities;[2] and Belshazzar was given up to intoxication in company with thou-

[2] The reader may compare the terrible description of ISAIAH, xxi. 5, where it is said, that the cry of battle should frighten them from the table, with the information of XENOPHON, *Cyrop.* vii. 5, *Op.* p. 192, that the very guards were intoxicated.

sands of his lords, when the hand which wrote on the wall of the royal banqueting house, and predicted his approaching fate, aroused him to the dreadful reality of his condition. But this total degeneracy of manners was above all conspicuous in the other sex, amongst whom were no traces of that reserve which usually prevails in an eastern harem. The prophet, therefore, when he denounces[3] the fall of Babylon, describes it under the image of a luxurious and lascivious woman, who is cast headlong into slavery from the seat where she sits so effeminately. Moreover, at these orgies the women appeared, where they proceeded so far as to lay aside their garments, and with them every feeling of shame;[4] nay, there was even a religious enactment, as we are informed by Herodotus,[5] according to which every woman was obliged to prostitute herself to strangers in the temple of Mylitta, once in her life, and was not allowed to reject any person who presented himself.

The principal cause of this profligacy of manners was the riches and luxury consequent upon extended commerce, which Babylon owed to its geographical position. Climate and religion effected the rest.

I have already had occasion to notice this advantageous situation of Babylonia, in which respect it was probably superior to every other country in Asia. While this afforded admirable facilities for traffic by land, it was equally convenient for maritime and river navigation. The two large rivers which flowed on each side of it seemed the natural channels of commercial intercourse with the interior of Asia; and the Persian Gulf by no means presented the same difficulties and dangers to the navigator as that of Arabia.

[3] ISAIAH, xiii.

[4] CURTIUS, v. 1. Nihil urbis ejus corruptius moribus; nec ad irritandas inliciendasque immodicas voluptates instructius. Liberos conjugesque cum hospitibus stupro coire, modo pretium flagitii detur, parentes maritique patiuntur. Convivales ludi tota Perside regibus purpuratisque cordi sunt; Babylonii maxime in vinum et quæ ebrietatem sequuntur, perfusi sunt. Feminarum convivia ineuntium principio modestus est habitus; dein summa quæque amicula exuunt; paulatimque pudorem profanant; ad ultimum (horror auribus sit) ima corporum velamenta projiciunt. Nec meretricum hoc dedecus est, sed matronarum virginumque, apud quas comitas habetur vulgati corporis vilitas. It is plain, Curtius is not here speaking of the Bayaderes, as might perhaps be supposed.

[5] HEROD. i. 199.

If we add to this, the accounts which ancient authors have given us of the industry, manners, and civil institutions of Babylon, it will be evident, that it owed its splendour and wealth to the same causes which in latter times have been the occasion of an extensive commerce to the cities of Bagdad and Bassora. They unanimously describe the Babylonians as a people fond of magnificence, and accustomed to a multitude of artificial wants, which they could not have supplied, except by commercial relations with many countries, some of them very remote. In their private life, especially in their dress, costliness appears to have been more their object, than either convenience or utility. Their public festivals and sacrifices were attended with immense expense, particularly in precious perfumes, with which they could not have been provided but from foreign countries. The raw materials too, required for their celebrated manufactures, flax, cotton, and wool, and perhaps silk, were either not the produce of their soil, or certainly not in sufficient quantities for their consumption. Lastly, many of their civil institutions were of such a nature as only to be calculated for a city, into which there was a continual influx of strangers. On this principle alone can be explained, not only their custom of exposing sick persons in the market-place, that they might meet with some one competent to prescribe for them; but also, and more particularly, the above-mentioned law, which obliged their women to prostitute themselves in the temple of Mylitta, and the public auction of marriageable virgins.[6] It has been already observed,[7] that the relations of the sexes are formed in a peculiar manner in large commercial cities; and this will serve to explain many remarkable institutions of several nations in Asia.

However certain may be the evidence drawn from these

[6] HEYNE, in his treatise, *de Babyloniorum instituto religioso*, etc., (*Commentat. Soc. Gott.* vol. xvi.,) has shown with great learning the relation which this custom bears to the social condition of women throughout the East. Yet I cannot conceive how it could have been considered as a consecration to marriage. For from the relation of Herodotus, it appears quite plain to me, that not virgins, but women were obliged to submit to it. He uses the words ἐγχώριαι γυναῖκες, native women, not πάρθενοι, virgins, under which latter term he describes the young maidens, who were submitted to the auction.

[7] See above, p. 229.

principles, and the accounts of antiquity in general, viz. that Babylon was the great centre where all nations assembled, and whence they departed to their several destinations, yet it is difficult to enter in detail on the commerce of the Babylonians, and to settle with any degree of accuracy its nature and its course. The obscure traces of it which yet remain must be laboriously sought for in the works of Greek and Hebrew writers alone; the labour, however, will not be without its recompence, and the general result of this investigation will be a picture, which, though not complete in its subordinate details, will yet present a generally faithful outline.

As a preliminary step, however, let us take a glance at the products of Babylonian skill and industry; amongst which, weaving of various kinds deserves our first notice. The peculiar dress of the Babylonians consisted partly of woollen, and partly of linen, or probably cotton stuffs. "They wear," says Herodotus, "a gown of linen, (or cotton,[8]) flowing down to the feet, over this, an upper woollen garment, and a white (woollen) tunic covering the whole." This garb, which must have been too much for so warm a climate, seems to have been assumed rather for ostentation, than to meet their actual wants, and probably some alteration was made in it as the weather became warmer. Their woven stuffs, however, were not confined to domestic use, but were exported into foreign countries. Carpets, one of the principal objects of luxury in the East, the floors of the rich being generally covered with them, were no where so finely woven, and in such splendid colours, as at Babylon. Particular representations were seen on them, of those wonderful Indian animals, the griffin and others, with which we have become acquainted by the ruins of Persepolis, whence the knowledge of them was brought to the West.[9] Foreign nations made use of these carpets in the decoration of their harems and royal saloons; indeed this species of luxury appears no where to have been carried further than

[8] Λίνεον is the term Herodotus uses, which with him signifies either linen or cotton.

[9] ATHEN. v. p. 197. The reader should above all compare the remarks of Böttiger on this subject, containing a fund of mythological instruction, in his interpretation der Griechischen Vasengemalde, (figures on Greek vases,) i. 111, p. 106.

among the Persians. With them, not only the floors, but even beds and sofas in the houses of the nobles were covered with two or three of these carpets; nay, the oldest of their sacred edifices, the tomb of Cyrus at Pasargada, was ornamented with a purple one of Babylonian workmanship.[10]

Babylonian garments were not less esteemed; those in particular called sindones were in very high repute. It appears that they were usually of cotton, and the most costly were so highly valued for their brilliancy of colour and fineness of texture, as to be compared to those of Media, and set apart for royal use;[11] they were even to be found at the tomb of Cyrus, which was profusely decorated with every description of furniture in use amongst the Persian kings during their lives.[12] The superiority of Babylonian robes and carpets will not be a matter of surprise, when we consider how near Babylon was to Carmania on the one side, and to Arabia and Syria on the other, and that in these countries the finest cotton was produced.

Large weaving establishments were not confined to the capital, but existed likewise in other cities and inferior towns of Babylonia, which Semiramis is said to have built on the banks of the Euphrates and Tigris, and which she appointed as marts for those who imported Median and Persian goods.[13] These manufacturing towns also were, as will soon be shown in respect to Opis, staples for land traffic. The most famous of them was Borsippa, situated on the Euphrates, fifteen miles below Babylon, and mentioned in history before the time of Cyrus.[14] These were the principal linen and cotton manufactories, and they still existed in the age of Strabo.[15]

Besides these, the Babylonians appear to have made all kinds of apparel, and every article of luxury; such as sweet waters, which were in common use, and probably necessary, from the heat of the climate; walking sticks delicately chased with figures of animals and other objects, and also elegantly engraven stones, were in general use amongst the Babylonians.

[10] XENOPH. and ARRIAN, vi. 29. [11] THEOPH. Hist. Plant. iv. 9.
[12] ARRIAN, l. c. [13] DIOD. i. p. 125.
[14] Jos. in APION. *Op.* p. 1045, relates that the king of Babylon, conquered by Cyrus, was imprisoned in this town.
[15] STRAB. xvi. p. 1074.

These stones begin to form a particular class, since the curiosities called Babylonian cylinders have become less rare. Many of them have undoubtedly served for seal rings; for, in the East, the seal supplies the place of a signature, or at any rate makes it valid, as we still see on specimens of Babylonian documents. The same may be said of the cylinders. We have a striking illustration of the perfection to which the Babylonians had brought the art of cutting precious stones in the collection of M. Dorow, which contains a cylinder, formed from a jasper, bearing a cuneiform inscription, and an image of a winged Ized, or Genius, in a flowing Babylonian dress, represented in the act of crushing with each hand an ostrich, the bird of Ahriman.[16]

These various manufactures and works of art presuppose an extensive commerce, because the necessary materials must have been imported from foreign countries.

We shall now trace this vast commerce of Babylon through all its branches, beginning with its land trade; and after that, proceed to investigate its navigation and maritime trade. The first will be divided according to its principal directions into eastern or Persico-Bactrian, northern or Armenian, western or Phœnician, that of Asia Minor, and the southern or Arabian. Our inquiries into the maritime trade of the Babylonians will comprehend in general their navigation and traffic in the Persian Gulf.

From what has been already adduced, no doubt can be entertained that Babylon enjoyed a lively commerce with the principal countries of the Persian empire. Not only did the Persian and Median lords decorate their houses with the productions of Babylonian skill, but the kings of Persia spent a great part of the year in that city with all their numerous attendants; added to which, the satraps exhibited in the same capital a pomp but little inferior to royal magnificence.[17] Owing to this intimate connexion between the chief provinces of Persia and Babylonia, the country lying between this and Susa became the most populous and culti-

[16] *Morgenländische Alterthümer*, (Oriental Antiquities,) published by D. Dorow, first number 1818, with the draughts and interpretation of Grotefend and others. My description is taken from a cast in sulphur, for which I am indebted to the kindness of the owner.

[17] See above, p. 272.

vated in Asia; and a highway was made from Babylon to Susa, which was twenty days' journey distant, sufficiently commodious for the baggage of an army to be conveyed on it without difficulty.[18]

The investigation, however, is involved in greater difficulties as we proceed towards the east beyond Persia; though a principal country to which they traded, that is to say, Persian India, or the present Belur-land, and with the parts adjacent, whence the Babylonians imported many of their most highly prized commodities, afford a clear proof of the direction and extent of this commerce. We have already given a geographical account of these countries, so important in ancient commerce; our present business will be therefore to describe more particularly their produce, and the relation in which they stood towards Babylon.

The first article which we may confidently assert the Babylonians to have obtained, at least in part, from these countries, were precious stones; the use of which for seal rings was very general amongst them. Ctesias says expressly, that these stones came from India; and that onyxes, sardines, and the other stones used for seals, were obtained in the mountains bordering on the sandy desert.[19] The testimonies of modern travellers have proved that the account of this author is entitled to full credit;[20] and that even at the present time the lapis lazuli is found there in its greatest perfection; and if it be added to this, that what Ctesias relates of India undoubtedly refers for the most part to these northern countries,[21] we must consider it probable, that the stones in question were found in the mountains of which we are speaking; while with regard to the sapphire of the ancients, that is to say, our lapis lazuli, I have no doubt that it is a native of this country. A decisive proof is furnished by Theophrastus, a more recent author, but worthy of credit. "Emeralds and jaspers," says he,[22] "which are used as objects of decoration, come from the desert of Bactria (of Cobi). They are sought for by persons who go thither on horseback at the time of the north wind, which blows away the sand, and so discovers them." "The largest of the

[18] ARRIAN, iii. 16. [19] CTESIAS, *Ind.* cap. 5, compared with HEROD. i. 195.
[20] See above, p. 353. [21] See above, p. 345.
[22] THEOPHRAST. *de lapid. Op.* p. 396.

emeralds called Bactrian," says he, in another place,[23] " is at Tyre, in the temple of Hercules. It forms a tolerably large pillar." The passage, however, of Ctesias, to which we have referred, as a modern author has justly remarked,[24] contains some indications, which, relatively to onyxes, appear to refer to the Ghât mountains; since he speaks of a hot country, not far from the sea.

The circumstance of large quantities of onyxes coming out of these mountains at the present day, viz. the mountains near Cambaya and Beroach, the ancient Barygaza, must render this opinion so much the more probable, as it was this very part of the Indian coast with which the ancients were most acquainted; and their navigation from the Persian Gulf to these regions, as will be shown hereafter, admits of no doubt. This opinion, however, must not lead us to conclude, that the commerce of Babylon was confined to those countries; for that they were acquainted with the abovementioned northern districts is equally certain.

Hence also the Babylonians imported Indian dogs. This breed is asserted to be the largest and strongest that exist; and, on that account, the best suited for hunting wild beasts, even lions, which they will very readily attack. The great fondness felt by the Persians for the pleasures of the chase, by whom it was regarded as a chivalrous exercise, must have increased the value and use of these animals, which soon became even an object of luxury. The Persian nobles were obliged to keep a great number of them, as they formed a necessary part of their domestic economy, and their train; and they were also accustomed to take them with them on their journeys and military expeditions. Thus Xerxes, as we are assured by Herodotus, was followed by an innumerable quantity of dogs, when he marched against Greece;[25] and an example taken from the same writer, shows to what a pitch the Persian lords and satraps had carried their luxury

[23] THEOPHRAST. *Op.* p. 394. This is certainly the same pillar which Herodotus mentions, ii. 44. " In the temple of the Tyrian Hercules I saw two pillars, one of pure gold, and the other of emerald, which gave light in the dark." Might not this have been of lapis lazuli, like the pillars in the church of the Jesuits at Rome?

[24] *Ueber die Onyxgebirge des Ctesias in der Sammlung der Aufsätze, des Hrn Grafen von Veltheim,* (on the onyx mountains of Ctesias in the collection of the treatises of the Count von Veltheim,) ii. p. 236.

[25] HEROD. vii. 187.

in this particular. Tritantæchmus, satrap of Babylon, devoted to the maintenance of these Indian dogs no less than four towns of his government, which were exempted from all other taxes.[26] It is easy to settle the extent of this branch of commerce, admitting, as is reasonable, that the supply of the animals in question was not continually renewed by fresh importations, but that they were propagated in the country.

The native country of these animals, according to Ctesias,[27] was that whence precious stones were obtained. And this account of the ancient author has been confirmed by a modern traveller; for Marco Polo, in his account of these regions, has not forgotten to mention large dogs, which were even able to overcome lions.[28]

A third, and no less certain class of productions, which the Persians and Babylonians obtained from this part of the world, were dyes, and amongst them the cochineal, or rather, Indian lacca. The most ancient, though not quite accurate description of this insect, and of the tree upon which it settles, is also found in Ctesias.[29] According to him, it is a native of the country near the sources of the Indus, and produces a red, resembling cinnabar. The Indians themselves use it for the purpose of dyeing their garments, to which it gives a colour even surpassing in beauty the dyes of the Persians. It is evident from this passage, that these beautifully coloured Indian robes were an article of commerce with Western Asia; and here I cannot forbear reminding the reader of an observation already made: namely, that these mountainous countries of Candahar and Cashmire were identical with those in which sheep-breeding formed the principal occupation of the inhabitants, who reared these animals with wonderful success, on account of the abundance of silphium growing here, with which they were fed.[30] Hence we can have no doubt, that the same parts of Asia which at this day produce the finest woollen cloths, and whose

[26] Herod. i. 192. [27] Ctes. *Ind.* 5.

[28] Marco Polo, *in Ramusio*, ii. p. 53.

[29] Ctes. *Ind.* c. 21. Beckmann. *Beiträge*, etc. 111, supposes it to be the cochineal. Wilford, *Asiat. Res.* ix. 65, more correctly considers it the Indian lacca, an insect which, when bruised, produces a beautiful red; as the climate is too severe for the cochineal.

[30] Sect. on *Persian India.*

shawls (a word which having passed from the Sanscrit into the Persian language, must be very ancient) are now so highly valued by ladies, both for convenience and for ornament, enjoyed the same advantages in the time of the ancient Persians, and that the harems of Susa and Babylon were decorated with these productions of the loom.

I intentionally omit to mention other objects of commerce probably obtained from India, and among them, gold and gold-dust, which we are assured the natives of these regions sent into Persia, as tribute. But a second, and no less interesting question demands our notice concerning this trade: viz. what was its route, and who were the people who carried it on?

Strabo[31] has preserved to us from Eratosthenes, a knowledge of the roads by which the commodities of the Indian districts, bordering on the Persian empire, were conveyed to its principal cities, and especially to Babylon. The usual high road, through populous and cultivated regions, first ran in a northerly direction, in order to avoid the predatory tribes which infested the desert between Persia and Media. It continued along the southern part of this desert, as far as one of the most celebrated defiles in Asia, called the Caspian gates, through which it proceeded to Hyrcania and Aria. In this latter country, taking its course along the foot of the high and woody Hyrcanian and Parthian mountains, the road thence turned northward toward Bactra. This is the same which Alexander followed in his expedition against the Bactrians; and though he left it occasionally to attack the inhabitants of the neighbouring mountains, he always returned to it. In Arrian,[32] it bears the name of the great military road.

The great commercial route to India was the same as this as far as Aria. Here, however, it took a different, that is to say, an easterly direction, while the other proceeded northward towards Bactra. Thence it ran to Prophthasia, Arachotus, and Ortospana, where it divided itself into three branches. One of these went due east to the borders of

[31] STRABO, p. 782. That this is an ancient road, anterior to the times of Alexander, the names of the places, which are all ancient, are sufficient to prove. Alexandria in Aria, is the same as Artakoana. See the Appendix.

[32] ARRIAN, iii. 21. Αεωφόρος ὁδός.

India; perhaps the second had a similar direction, with a little inclination to the south; and the third turned northward towards Bactria, and formed the great road, through which India had communication with this country and its capital, Bactra.

This city must then be regarded as the commercial staple of Eastern Asia. Its name belongs to a people who never cease to afford matter for historical details from the time they are first mentioned. Not only does Bactra constantly appear as a city of wealth and importance in the age of the Persian empire; but it is continually interwoven, in the traditions of the East, with the accounts of Semiramis and other conquerors.[33] It is situated on the borders of the gold country, "in the road of the confluence of nations," according to an expression in the Zendavesta; and the conjecture, that in this part of the world the human race made its first advance in civilization, becomes highly probable from the facts which have been mentioned in the course of the present investigation.

We cannot entertain any doubt as to the persons through whose hands the commodities of India came to Bactra. It is evident, from what has been said before, that the natives of the countries bordering on Little Thibet and others, or the northern Indians of Herodotus and Ctesias, formed the caravans which travelled into the gold desert, and that it was the same people from whom Western Asia obtained ingredients for dyeing, and also the finest wool. But it may be asked how far this commerce extended? whether it comprised the countries beyond the desert? and this question is involved in very great difficulties.

The name of Serica is not mentioned by the writers of this period, nor for some time afterwards; when it does appear, it is only an indefinite appellation for the countries beyond the desert of Cobi, whence silk was imported; and therefore does not exclusively denote the present Tangut, but also Coshotei, and as much of China as they were acquainted with. There can be no question of commodities, indisputably Chinese, so long as the age of the silk trade continues unsettled. One of the most celebrated of modern

[33] Diod. i. p. 117.

writers has brought down the commerce with China to the third century before the Christian era; but has overlooked a passage in an author contemporary with the Persian monarchy, from which, although the higher antiquity of commercial relations with the extreme east of Asia is not certainly established, at any rate it becomes extremely probable.

"The country where gold is found, and which the griffins infest," says Ctesias, "is exceedingly desolate. The Bactrians, who dwell in the neighbourhood of the Indians, assert, that the griffins watch over the gold; though the Indians themselves deny that they do any thing of the kind, as they have no need of the metal, but (say they) the griffins are only apprehensive on account of their young, and these are the objects of their protection. The Indians go armed into the desert, in troops of a thousand or two thousand men. But we are assured that they do not return from these expeditions till the third or fourth year."[34]

It is clear, from the foregoing statement, that the Indians here mentioned were no other than the natives of Northern India; and by the desert where they found gold, must be understood the sandy desert of Cobi, bounding Tangut on the west, and China on the north. With regard, however, to the account of Ctesias, that caravans of a thousand or two thousand men travelled into this desert, and returned after three or four years laden with gold—what other direction could this journey have had, than to the rich countries in the most remote and eastern part of Asia?[35] I willingly leave it to the reader to judge what degree of probability there is to support this conjecture. The distant obscurity indeed prevents our having a clear view, yet this very obscurity possesses a certain charm.

We are indebted to Strabo[36] for an account of the road

[34] De Guignes, in the *Mémoires de l' Académie des Inscrip.*, t. xlvi.

[35] Ctes. *ap. Æl. Hist. An.*, iv. 27. Compare with this passage the time which Ptolemy assigns for the journey to Serica (i. 11). Reckoning from the eastern limit of Little Bucharia near Sertem, seven months were necessary to reach the capital of Serica; and from Bactra to Sertem five more, a year altogether. If we allow the same time for returning, it will be evident that the caravans could only be at home in the third year. In my inquiries concerning the Indians, I shall return to this subject, when I hope to place it in a clearer light.

[36] Strab. p. 1084.

by which the wares of Babylon were conveyed to the shores of the Mediterranean. It ran in a due northern direction through the midst of Mesopotamia, and reached the Euphrates near Anthemusia, five and twenty days' journey distant, where it turned off towards the west, to the Mediterranean. This could have been only a caravan road, because a numerous company of merchants would be necessary for mutual defence against the predatory nomad tribes, the Scenites, who infested the desert; or indeed for procuring a safe passage by the payment of a ransom. I cannot advance it as certain, that this road was generally used under the Persian dynasty; yet it appears in the highest degree probable from the circumstance, that roads were seldom or never altered by the ancients.

Another great military road, described by Herodotus, from station to station, and leading to Sardis, and other Greek commercial towns in Asia Minor, was made by the Persian kings at a vast expense. It is not, indeed, to be doubted, that political reasons were a principal inducement to the formation of this road, because the Persians, when they were engaged in war with the Greeks, scarcely set so high a value upon any of their provinces, as they did upon Asia Minor, with which they were very desirous to further and maintain an uninterrupted communication. But we moreover learn from the description of Herodotus, that it was a commercial road, upon which caravans travelled from the chief cities of Persia into Asia Minor. According to him the road began from Susa, and not from Babylon; yet the vicinity of these two cities, and their intimate connexion, which has been remarked above, renders this a circumstance of no importance. The passage of the Greek historian deserves to be communicated entire to the reader.[37]

"The following," says he, "is an account of the military road from Sardis and Ephesus to Susa. Royal stations and magnificent caravanserais[38] continually succeed each other in all parts of it; and it passes through an inhabited and safe region all the way. First, (from Sardis,) there are

[37] HEROD. v. 52.

[38] Καταλύσεις, lodging-places. There are no inns in the East answering to those of Europe, but caravanserais, as I have translated the term employed by Herodotus.

twenty stations through Lydia and Phrygia, or ninety-four parasangs[39] and a half. Leaving Phrygia, we come to the river Halys, near which there is a guarded passage, necessary to be passed in our way over the river. On the other side of the river we come to Cappadocia, and through this country to the Cilician[40] mountains; comprehending twenty-eight stations, or a hundred and four parasangs. We penetrate into these mountains by a double defile, which is intrusted to a double frontier guard, and then traverse through Cilicia, a space of three stations, or fifteen parasangs and a half. The river Euphrates, which can only be passed by a ferry, separates Cilicia from Armenia,[41] in which there are fifteen stations, or fifty-six parasangs and a half. There is here also a frontier guard, and four rivers, which are crossed in boats. The first is the Tigris; the second and third bear the same appellation, without being either the same rivers, or flowing from the same country,[42] as the first of them comes out of Armenia, and the other out of the land of the Matienians; the fourth is the Gyndes, which Cyrus divided into three hundred and sixty branches. From Armenia into the land of the Matienians there are four stations; and eleven stations, or forty-two parasangs and a half, from this country into that of the Cissians,[43] as far as the river Choaspes, which must likewise be passed in boats; and on the banks of this river stands the city of Susa. Thus in the journey from Susa to Sardis there are one hundred and eleven[44] stations, with the same number of caravanserais."

This principal road of Asia, once so famous, having undergone no other alteration than that occasioned by its different limits, is now commonly used by caravans from

[39] The parasang, according to Herodotus, was equivalent to thirty stades, about three English miles.

[40] Cilicia, according to the same author, extended as far as Cappadocia, along the Upper Euphrates, and comprehended the region afterwards named Little Armenia. Compare v. 49. And therefore by the term Cilician mountains, we are to understand all that chain which reaches to Mount Caucasus.

[41] In Herodotus, Armenia comprehends all northern Mesopotamia.

[42] Without doubt, the greater and lesser Zabus, of which the first springs from the mountains which bound Media, or those of Matiene; the other from the mountains of Armenia.

[43] That is to say, Susiana, or Chusistan, the inhabitants of which Herodotus calls Cissians.

[44] See the Appendix, on the incorrectness of this number.

Ispahan to Smyrna; Tavernier[45] has given us a full description of it. Its present course is from Smyrna to Tokat, and thence to Erivan. Only the last half has varied; for, in order to be in the direction of Ispahan, the traveller now proceeds north-east, beyond the lake of Ormia; whereas the ancients, on the contrary, without going so far east, inclined more to the south, and followed the course of the Tigris.

On the whole, however, the ancient and modern roads agree in one particular, the reason of which we are told by Herodotus; that is to say, they chose the longer in preference to the shorter way, that they might travel through inhabited countries, and in security. The direct road would have led them through the midst of the steppes of Mesopotamia; where security would have been quite out of the question, on account of the roving predatory hordes. Therefore in ancient times, as well as the present, they chose the northern route along the foot of the Armenian mountains, where the traveller enjoyed security from molestation and an abundant supply of all necessaries.

As to the rest, the division into stations was evidently adopted for the advantage of the caravans. According to Herodotus, the distance between each station was five parasangs, a journey of seven or eight hours; and this we learn from Tavernier, is exactly the space which caravans consisting of loaded camels are accustomed to traverse in the course of a day;[46] but those of horses travel much faster. As this road, however, was perfectly safe, there can be no doubt, that single merchants and travellers performed the journey alone.

A third branch of Babylonian commerce in the interior of Asia had a northern direction; particularly to Armenia. The Armenians had the advantage of the Euphrates to convey their wares to Babylon; and amongst these, wine, which the soil of Babylonia did not produce, was the principal. Herodotus has described this navigation; and we learn from him that the ships or floats of the Armenians were constructed similarly to those which are at present seen on the Tigris, under the appellation of Kilets.[47] The skeleton only

[45] TAVERNIER, t. i. p. 68. [46] Ibid. i. p. 99.
[47] HEROD. i. 194. TAVERNIER, i. p. 184. POTTER, ii. p. 259, gives an

was of wood; this had a covering of skins overlaid with reeds; and an oval form was given to the whole, so that there was no difference between the stern and prow. They were filled with goods, especially large casks of wine, and then guided down the stream by two oars. The size of these barks varied considerably; Herodotus observed some which were rated at more than five thousand talents' burthen. On their arrival at Babylon, the conductors sold not only the cargo, but also the skeleton; the skins, however, were carried back by land on asses, which they brought with them for the purpose; since, as the historian has remarked, the force of the stream rendered it impossible for them to return up the river: thus in Germany, the market boats which go down the Danube to Vienna never return, but are sold with the commodities which they convey.

We shall be led to conclude, that the navigation of the Euphrates must have been very important, if we recollect the great works which were performed in order to secure it. Herodotus speaks of it as extraordinary; and, truly, if we believe, as there is great probability for doing, that this trade was confined to the consumption of Babylon, it must necessarily have been very considerable, from the immense population of the city, and from the peculiarity of its soil, which, as it yielded a superfluity of some things, was necessarily quite deficient in others. Hence the Babylonians were obliged to import from the northern regions those necessaries of life which their own soil failed to produce; and we shall have more distinct notions respecting this trade, if we recollect that Herodotus includes under the name of Armenia, in addition to the mountainous district which may be termed Armenia Proper, also the whole of that rich and fruitful country, Northern Mesopotamia.

Further, with whatever difficulties the navigation of the Euphrates, when against the stream, may have been attended, even supposing them to have been insurmountable by barks of the above-mentioned construction; yet Herodotus is mistaken when he declares it absolutely impossible. At all events it was practised, and considered as a continuation of the trade on the Persian Gulf, as the precious commodities

exact description of them. According to him, bladders filled with air were fastened to them to prevent their sinking.

of the southern regions were hence conveyed up the stream to Thapsacus, and from that place into the other parts of Asia by caravans. This investigation is most intimately connected with the question concerning the maritime trade and navigation of the Babylonians, one of the most difficult which antiquity presents to us, and involved in almost total obscurity; the only way by which any light can be thrown on the subject, is to obtain, in the first place, a more exact knowledge of the state of the Persian Gulf at that time, as being the principal theatre of this commerce.

A single glance at the map will be sufficient to show, that the situation and nature of the Persian Gulf rendered it eminently qualified to be the common emporium for the whole southern Asiatic trade, or that with Arabia and India. Its very configuration afforded it great advantages over the Arabian Gulf. While the latter resembles a long and narrow canal, studded every where with rocks and islands; the Persian Gulf, on the other hand, presents to our view a large and spacious basin, of almost equal extent with the Gulf of Bothnia, and by the extreme smallness of its mouth, breaks the waves of the Indian Ocean; it presents, too, fewer dangers to navigation from hidden rocks, as its shores are almost free from them. Beside this, the streams which it receives appear like so many roads of trade for transporting commodities into the interior of Asia. Hence few countries can be found where nature has done so much for man; and the history of the middle ages, in which the names of Ormus, Bassora, and other cities frequently occur, proves that her labours were not in vain; and it required nothing less than the different direction which the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope gave to Indian commerce, to deprive the Persian Gulf of this pre-eminence.

The ancients considered as the beginning of this Gulf, the narrow strait formed by the cape of Makae or Dsiulfar on the Arabian shore, and that of Ormus or Harmozia on the Persian; the broad embouchure between Oman and Carmania not being reckoned as part of it. The above-mentioned strait is so small, that the promontories on both sides may be distinctly seen from the middle. But as soon as we pass beyond this entrance, the shores fall off on both sides, and give to the Gulf that oval shape with which it is

represented in our maps. We shall now conduct the reader along these two shores to the mouth of the Euphrates; and take for our guide, together with Strabo, the relation of Arrian, drawn from Nearchus, who sailed along and described the whole eastern coast.[48]

After Nearchus had passed the mouth of the Indus with Alexander's fleet, and had sailed through the entrance of the Gulf, he kept on the right hand according to his plan, and followed the line of the eastern coast. However, he saw in the distance the high promontory of Makae or Dsiulfar. After sailing sixteen miles, he landed in the fruitful and populous country of Harmozia, which produced every thing but olive trees; and here the wearied mariners first reposed from their fatigues and dangers. This is no other than the valley of Ormus, which extends two days' journey along the sea-coast.[49] Opposite to this, on a small island, the commercial city of Ormus was afterwards erected under the Caliphs; but the account of Nearchus shows that the name is much older. According to Marco Polo, a number of large rivers, of which Nearchus mentions the Aramis, water this valley, which abounds with dates, parrots, fruits, and animals of various kinds, very different from ours. While the ships were repairing in this place, Nearchus hastened by land to the army of Alexander, in order to announce the happy arrival of his fleet, and took the same road which has been so well described by Marco Polo, at that time infested with bands of robbers, who took refuge in the mountains behind the valley, and therefore extremely dangerous. On his return, he continued his voyage, and landed twice on the large island of Oaracta, (now Broet,)[50] which produced vines, palms, and corn, and was under the government of a Persian named Macenes, who was his attendant to Susa. They were shown in this island the tombs of the ancient

[48] For what follows, the reader may compare ARRIAN'S *Indica, Op.* p. 19, etc. A full investigation, of which I can here give only the result, will be found in my treatise, *De prisca sinus Persici facie, in Commentat. Soc. Goetting.* t. xiii. p. 138.

[49] For what follows, compare MARCO POLO *in Ramusio*, ii. p. 8, 9.

[50] For what follows, I have made use of the map of DELISLE, as well as that of NIEBUHR, to determine the modern names of the islands. From a comparison of these geographers with Nearchus, it appears that the greater part of them have been disfigured by Greek terminations, or by transcribers.

kings; a circumstance which proves, that it was once independent, and inhabited from a considerable time back. He passed by another small and uninhabited island, named Organa, (now Aragan,) on his left hand. Of the remaining small islands which are in the vicinity, Nearchus mentions the name of one more, Pylorus, (now Malora,) and alludes to another without a name, probably Talengo, which is said to have been dedicated to Neptune. He now approached the coast of Carmania, which here seemed to him uninhabited; and after that, reached the island Catæa, probably Keiche, where was the boundary between Persia and Carmania. On the Persian coast, he landed at a place called Ila, (now Cailo,) opposite the small island Caicandros, (now Androvari,) and on the following morning reached another island, which is not named, where there was a pearl fishery. From a comparison of situations, this appears to have been the same as the island Lara. Along the coast he saw many villages thickly inhabited, and ships in the roadstead; there was also no want of palms and fruit trees like those of Greece. From hence he proceeded to Gogorna, (Congon,) at the mouth of a small river, and after having observed several other small rivers which are to be found in the map, he came to Hieratis, (probably Corsiara,) situated on a river of the same name, where he saw many gardens and fruit trees. Pursuing his voyage, and, as before, incurring danger from rocks and shallows, he arrived at the mouth of the large river Aresas, (now Rasain,) which separated Persis and Susiana, as it now divides Fars from Chusistan. Next followed the coast of Susiana, which was so dangerous from shallows, that the inhabitants were accustomed to direct the course of ships by setting up long poles. He then crossed over the Choaspes, called in Arrian the Pasitigris; passed by the inland sea into which the Tigris empties itself; and at length reached the mouth of the Euphrates, where was situated the commercial town of Tenedon, otherwise called Diridotis.

I wish it were in my power to impart to the reader an equally exact and authentic description of the western coast of the Persian Gulf; but here, alas! we have no Nearchus, whose testimony we might use as that of an eye-witness; for

on account of the many dangerous rocks and shallows, navigators have always preferred the opposite side of the Gulf.[51]

All this part of Arabia, from the Euphrates to Cape Dsiulfar, is included by the Arabs under the name of Hadjer, or Bahrein; and it is one of the parts of our globe with which we are the least acquainted. It is moreover neither sterile nor without water; but, on the contrary, abounds in dates and other productions; nevertheless, the sand which is blown hither from the neighbouring desert not only turns this line of coast into a waste, but obstructs the passage through it, and chokes up the road.[52] It is at this day inhabited by the Wahhabites.

In the accounts of antiquity, only one city appears throughout this coast, Gerrha, situated near a bay, which takes its name from it; but for this very reason, it is so much the more remarkable to the historical inquirer into the commerce of the ancients. It occupied the very same position which Lachsa does now, under the twenty-eighth degree of north latitude, or perhaps a few miles further north, near the present El Katif. Here there are, according to the account of a modern traveller, monuments of stone with inscriptions; though inconsiderable, it is at this day a city provided with all the necessaries of life; and date trees are found in its vicinity.[53] "When" says Strabo,[54] who here speaks from the accounts of the followers of Alexander, "we have travelled along the coast 2400 stades, we arrive at Gerrha, built by a colony of Chaldeans from Babylon. It is situate in a country abounding in salt, of which the houses of the inhabitants are constructed; and these it is necessary to moisten frequently, that they may not split, through the heat of the sun. The city is 200 stades from the sea. Its inhabitants transport the goods of the Arabians and spices by land; though Aristobulus says, they frequently went in ships to Babylon, and sailed as far up as Thapsacus, from whence their wares were carried into all

[51] THEVENOT, ii. p. 298, etc.
[52] BUSCHING'S *Asia*, p. 559. OTTER, *Voyage* ii. p. 74.
[53] *History of Seyd Said, Sultan of Muscata*, by SHEIK MANSUR, (an assumed name,) a native of Rome. London, 1819. North of El Katif, a desert begins, twenty days' journey in length.
[54] STRAB. p. 1110.

parts." I shall soon find occasion to say more of this colony from Babylon, and of its commerce.

The continuation of the coast as far as the Cape Makae or Dsiulfar, offers nothing remarkable; along it, however, there are sand banks, which, time out of mind, have been celebrated for pearl fishery. The Cape Dsiulfar, according to Nearchus, was situated in a desert country; but the adjoining district towards the south, by name Oman, is one of the richest and most fruitful in Arabia, and in former times rendered the Cape itself an emporium of commerce, as I shall presently show.

First, however, there remains an investigation as obscure as it is important, concerning some islands situated near this coast, which, as they are said to have been eminent trading places, must not be passed over in silence. In the Greek geographers, for instance, we read of two islands, named Tyrus or Tylos, and Aradus, which boasted that they were the mother country of the Phœnicians, and exhibited relics of Phœnician temples. The Hebrew poets, on the other hand, mention another, by the name of Daden, whose caravans travelled with valuable merchandise into the north of Arabia.

The Greek geographers do not agree as to the position of Tylus and Aradus; wherever, therefore, we fix their situation, it will still be liable to objections. For my own part, however, I am convinced that these two islands were the same as those at this day called Bahrein. I shall first communicate to the reader my reasons for this opinion, which may be taken both from the situation, and from the names given them by the ancients; yet without concealing the objections to which it is liable.

Pliny and Strabo are the principal authorities, yet they are both indebted to more ancient authors. "On sailing farther (south) from Gerrha," says Strabo,[55] "we come to two islands, where there are to be seen Phœnician temples, and the inhabitants assure us, that the cities of Phœnicia bearing the same name are colonies from them. These islands are ten days' sail from Tenedon, (Diridotis, at the mouth of the Euphrates,) and one from Cape Makae."

[55] STRAB. p. 1110. PLIN. vi. 28. The latter names Arad, Little Tylos, which he reports to be ten miles from Great Tylos.

From the account of Strabo, so much is evident; viz. that these islands must be sought for to the south of Gerrha; yet what distance they were from the bay of Gerrha is not to be determined with certainty by this passage; here, however, Pliny comes to our assistance. "Tylos," says he, "is fifty miles from the bay of Gerrha." This calculation exactly suits the Bahrein islands, which are just that distance from the present bay of Lachsa, or, as it is also called, El Katif. Moreover, the ten days' sail mentioned by Strabo from the mouth of the Euphrates are no objection; for although it is only a distance of sixty or seventy miles, yet on the eastern side Nearchus spent a much longer time in the very same navigation.

The situation then of Aradus and Tyrus would seem to be sufficiently determined by the testimony of Strabo and Pliny, if there were not a difficulty in the account of the former, when he adds, "from these islands to Makae, (or the mouth of the Persian Gulf,) there is a distance of one day's navigation." This is impossible, if we suppose him to be speaking of the islands named Bahrein; we ought rather, in this case, to seek them in the group off Ormus; to which opinion, however, the account of Pliny is opposed.

The report of the followers of Alexander, who were sent by him to discover the western coast of Arabia, countenances another view of the question.[56] "They were informed that there were two islands in the sea beyond the mouth of the Euphrates. The first not far from it, at a distance of a hundred and twenty stades, (about twelve miles,) was very woody, and contained a temple of Artemis, surrounded by habitations of the inhabitants. That there was in it a multitude of wild goats and roe bucks, which were never killed; and that the island had received the name of Icarus from Alexander." (The situation of this small island before the mouth of the Euphrates is sufficiently determined, to make it evident that it can be neither of those mentioned by Strabo and Pliny. It is probably the same as that which is called Bubeân in the map of Niebuhr; but as the country has been so much changed by the junction of the Euphrates and Tigris, we cannot come to any certainty on

[56] ARRIAN, vii. 20.

this point.) "That the second island was at the distance of a day and night's navigation, supposing a favourable wind, from the Euphrates: that it was named Tylos, was of considerable magnitude, produced a quantity of excellent fruits, and was neither mountainous nor woody." Here we have another Tylos, evidently of a different situation from that of Strabo and Pliny. It is probably the Cathema[57] of our maps, situate in 29° N. Lat., 48° 30′ Long. All this, however, proves nothing more than that the name of Tylos, or Tyrus, has been improperly given to this island; and the voucher of it is one Archias, whom Alexander sent to explore Arabia and Tylos; but he had not courage to sail farther than the island in question, and therefore was willing to find Tylos here. This confusion of names has been already noticed by an old grammarian, who informs us that Arrian mistook Anata for Tylos.[58]

From what has been said, two things occur to us: first, that the name of Tylos has been taken for that of several islands in the Persian Gulf; and, secondly, that the islands Tylos and Aradus, where relics of the Phœnicians were found, were those named Bahrein, according to the definite accounts of ancient writers; and the critic will have no hesitation in preferring these to vague and indeterminate notions.

To these geographical proofs another may be added, which arises out of the name. The smallest of the Bahrein islands has preserved the ancient appellation of Aradus, for it is still called Arad;[59] this will carry conviction to those who are aware how little Asiatic appellations are subject to change.

The question respecting the island Daden of the Hebrews remains to be considered. This question, which is extremely important in considering the commerce of the ancients, is answered by the help of the oriental geographers, so far with certainty, as the island is either one of the Bahrein, or the rather more northerly one of Cathema.[60]

[57] This island is to be seen in the map of Delisle, but not in that of Niebuhr.

[58] STEPH. *de Urb. v.* Τίρος. The island Anata is no longer known. Might it not have been a corruption for Cathema?

[59] See NIEBUHR'S *Map.*

[60] The proofs, which to detail here would be out of place, may be found in Assemani, *Bibl. Orient.* tom. III. pars II. p. 160, 564, 604, 744. Diffi-

It is not necessary to settle this point with greater exactness, considering that these islands are at no great distance from each other, and in general, what the Greek and Hebrew writers have said of the islands Tyrus, Aradus, and Daden, will apply to those in the bay of Gerrha, especially to the Bahrein islands.

According to the report of a modern traveller,[61] there exist several places on the coast of the Persian Gulf, whose names seem to indicate a Phœnician origin; such are, Sidodona on the eastern side, and a city named Szur, (Tur, Tyrus,) which Niebuhr[62] calls Sur, and describes as having a good harbour in Oman, on the western side; these appear to prove that the Phœnicians had colonies on the continent, as well as in the islands. Niebuhr was acquainted with, and has described, another harbour called Tur, at the entrance of the Gulf of Suez.[63]

It was necessary to give these geographical notices with regard to the Persian Gulf previously to investigating its ancient navigation. I would, however, request the reader to refer to the times anterior to the Persian dominion, or the period[64] of the Chaldaico-Babylonian empire, since this navigation suffered great changes under the Persians, as will presently be shown.

That the Babylonians possessed a maritime navigation, when their power was at its height, may be gathered, in general, from the predictions of the contemporary Jewish prophet Isaiah.[65] "Thus saith the Lord your deliverer;

culties arise here not merely from want of maps, but also from the variation and confusion of names. Dadein or Daden is also frequently called Dirin; and it may be conjectured, that from hence arose the name of Dehroon, which is given to one of the Bahrein islands in the map of Delisle. If that were the case, then Daden would not be Cathema, as Assemani asserts, but the island mentioned above; and this is rendered probable by the resemblance of names, which is a certain guide in comparing the modern and ancient geography of Asia.

[61] Dr. SEETZEN, in *Zach's Monatl. Correspond. for Sept.* 1813. See the Appendix.

[62] NIEBUHR'S *Description of Arabia*, p. 307. 25° N. L. He has also a place named Sur, south of Muscat, $22\frac{1}{2}$° N. L.

[63] NIEBUHR'S *Travels*, i. 259.

[64] From 630 to 550, B. C.

[65] ISAIAH, xliii. 14, according to the translation of Michaelis. Gesenius has it differently: "For your sakes sent I to Babel, and drive all its fugitives, and the Chaldees, to their ships which are their delight." To which he has the following note: "The fugitives are the people collected together in the commercial city of Babel, (consequently different from the Chaldees,) who, on the invasion of the enemy, take refuge in the ships of their delight, their joy,

for your sakes have I sent to Babel, and thrown to the ground all obstacles, and the Chaldeans, who exult in their ships." This is a graphic description of a people no less proud of their ships than of their gates and ramparts. But more definite information is preserved to us in the Greek writers, who deserve the utmost attention of the historical inquirer. Æschylus, in his play of the Persians, enumerating the nations who composed the army of the great king, speaks as follows: "Babylon, too, that abounds in gold, sends forth a promiscuous multitude, who both embark in ships, and boast of their skill in archery."

The accounts of these writers, dispersed as they are through a multitude of different works, and sometimes at variance with each other, nevertheless concur in representing Babylon as a city, which received the merchandise of the South, Arabian and Indian productions, by means of the Persian Gulf; and they put it in our power sometimes to point out clearly the course and limit of this trade, and sometimes to give an obscure glimpse of it.

Amongst these, Strabo's information concerning Gerrha and Tylos merits a closer examination.[66] Gerrha, according to him, was a Chaldean colony; that is, from Babylon. Although, when he adds that it was founded by Chaldean emigrants, it does indeed appear to have been the consequence of some political revolution, with which we are unacquainted; or at any rate, to have owed its rise to a colony of priests, and not to any purpose of extending commerce; this is a consideration of very little importance, so long as we are satisfied that it had a flourishing trade, and constant intercourse with Babylon. We have no certain account with respect to the period of its foundation; yet since the contemporaries of Alexander described it as a rich commercial town, it is evident that the brilliant period of this colony must be referred to the era of the Macedonian conqueror.

We are assured by Agatharchides[67] that the inhabitants of Gerrha were one of the richest people in the world; and

or tumultuous pleasure; for these vessels, instruments of the magnificence of Babel, were commonly filled with crowds of rejoicing people."

[66] STRAB. 1110.

[67] AGATHARCHIDES *de Rubro Mari; in Geogr. min.* HUDSON, i. p. 60.

that for this they were indebted to their traffic with Arabian and Indian commodities, which they transported into the West by means of caravans, and to Babylon by their ships; for although they inhabited a barren district themselves, yet were they in the vicinity of Arabia Felix, the native country of frankincense and other perfumes, which the Babylonians consumed in great quantities.[68]

These precious goods were carried to Babylon in such abundance, that a vast overplus which remained, after the capital was supplied, was conveyed up the Euphrates to Thapsacus, and then, by land, over the whole of Western Asia.[69] As, therefore, Babylon was the emporium on the river Euphrates, in like manner the Tigris had the city Opis, which was a few miles above Bagdad, and not far from the Median wall, so called, the limit of Babylonia. Thither the inhabitants of Gerrha had directed their navigation from very ancient times, although, for reasons which I shall presently explain, the Persians interrupted it;[70] and undoubtedly Opis was their emporium, from whence merchandise was conveyed by the caravan trade into the interior of Asia.[71]

Gerrha had, as appears from Strabo, another advantage from its situation; that of being in a country which contained an abundance of salt. We shall show, in speaking of Africa, how great an advantage this is for regions where, as in Arabia and Africa, salt is scarce. Though we are not acquainted how far Gerrha profited by this gift of nature, in a commercial point of view, we may reasonably suppose she would not overlook the advantages which might be derived from it.

The formidable desert, which separated this city from the fruitful countries of Asia, served to protect her from the victorious nations, who ravaged the interior of this quarter of the globe; and hence its revolutions in general operated but slightly on Arabia. While, however, the peculiarity of its situation opposed to the conqueror a boundary, which he never passed, it could not repel the advances of merchants stimulated by the hope of gain; and with them

[68] According to Herodotus, a thousand talents of frankincense were annually consumed in the temple of Bel or Belus alone by the Chaldeans.

[69] STRAB. l. c. from Aristobulus.

[70] STRAB. p. 1074; cf. ARRIAN, vii. 7.

[71] STRAB. p. 1075. He names Opis expressly as the emporium of the circumjacent region.

Gerrha was obliged to share its rich commerce. The Phœnicians had found out the way to this coast through the sandy desert of Arabia, and, as usual, were attracted by the neighbouring islands. They chose the above-mentioned one of Tylos or Daden, and Aradus, for the purpose of forming commercial establishments; and were induced hereunto not only by the productions of these islands, but by the hope of participating in the East Indian trade. Amongst the former, the pearl fishery first claims our notice. It is generally known that the finest pearls are found in the Persian Gulf, and near the island of Ceylon. The shell-fish which produce them are found in almost all the islands of this Gulf; but the most considerable bank is that which extends along the western coast from the Bahrein islands nearly as far as Cape Dsiulfar.[72] Nearchus, in his journal, mentions this ancient pearl fishery.[73] It is true that he only speaks of the island Catæa on the eastern coast, for he did not see the Arabian coast or its islands; but he must of necessity suppose, that if those small and often uninhabited islands were frequented by pearl fishers, the ever active mind of the Phœnician in point of commerce, could not have overlooked the treasures which the larger islands presented to them. One of the latest British travellers who have explored these regions, informs us how extremely productive this fishery is, or might be made. "There is no place in the world," says Morier, "where more pearls are found; the bottom of the sea being quite covered with the shell-fish. The island Bahrein, with Karek, is considered the richest bed of pearls; the fishery, however, has been followed with less eagerness since the removal of the English market to Ceylon. At present, the principal market is at Muscat, from whence the greatest number of them are carried to Surat. Those in the Persian Gulf are yellow or white; the latter of which are taken to Asia Minor and Constantinople, chiefly for the supply of the seraglio. While the pearl of Ceylon shivers in pieces, that of the Persian Gulf is as hard as a rock. The largest are at the bottom of the sea, and divers go down ten or fifteen fathoms under water."[74] But we need say no more to show the great importance of this branch of commerce to the ancients.

[72] See NIEBUHR'S *Map*. [73] ARRIAN, *Ind. Op.* p. 194.
[74] MORIER, *first Voyage*, p. 53, etc.

Another production of these islands, or at least of the largest of them, that is to say, cotton, must have been a great attraction to the Babylonians. Theophrastus informs us, that there were at Tylos such large plantations of cotton trees, that a considerable part of the island was, as it were, quite covered with them;[75] and modern accounts give us to understand that cotton is produced at this day on the eastern coast of Arabia.[76] It is highly probable, that these plantations were the fruit of a commercial intercourse with India, the native country of cotton. Tylos might not indeed have produced enough to supply the manufactories of Babylon; but whatever this island furnished would be doubly valuable, because it was close at hand, and the conveyance without difficulty.

A comparison of Herodotus with Theophrastus renders it very probable that the Babylonians imported a third commodity from this island, which, although it may appear insignificant, I cannot entirely pass over in silence. Herodotus, in describing the magnificence of the Babylonians, adds, that it was a general custom amongst them to carry a walking-stick or cane, elegantly chased with the representation of some emblem.[77] It appears from Theophrastus, that this came from Tylos. "There grows in this island," says he,[78] "a tree from which the most handsome sticks are cut. They are streaked and spotted like the skin of a tiger, and very heavy; but fly in two when struck against any hard substance." This brief description is not sufficient for us to determine botanically the species of the tree, though showing very plainly that it has nothing to do with the bamboo, which has neither this heaviness nor hardness.

But there was another production peculiar to this island, which contributed much more to its value than these which have been mentioned. It has been already remarked in another place, that Babylon was totally deficient in timber, with the exception of the date and cypress tree, both which, however, are little suited for ship-building. This applies also to the coasts of the Persian Gulf, and would, therefore, have put an insurmountable obstacle in the way of that navi-

[75] THEOPH. *Hist. Pl.* iv. 9; cf. PLIN. xii. 10, 11. According to him, Little Tylos or Aradus was still more productive in cotton than the large island.
[76] OTTER, *Voyage*, ii. p. 74.
[77] HEROD. i. 195.
[78] THEOPHRAST. *Hist. Pl.* v. 6.

gation, if the deficiency had not been supplied by the island of Tylos. "There is in this island," says Theophrastus,[79] "a species of timber for ship-building, which under water resists all tendency to putrefaction, lasting for upwards of two hundred years; but out of water it decays much sooner." To this Pliny adds, that the followers of Alexander brought the knowledge of it to Greece. The want of a fuller description will not permit us to define this timber scientifically, which is, possibly, the celebrated Indian teak-wood; but the passage quoted affords an important disclosure, not only because it proves, in general, the navigation of the Persian Gulf, but also, as it brings within our comprehension the long voyages undertaken by vessels from Tylos, of which we shall soon have occasion to speak.

Gerrha and Tylos were, therefore, certainly principal marts of Babylonico-Phœnician commerce; yet there was another no less remarkable emporium for the commodities of the South, just in the entrance of the Persian Gulf. Ormus, which was afterwards so celebrated, did not yet exist, and its place was occupied by Cape Makae or Dsiulfar. Nearchus, who had only a passing view of this Cape, as he sailed by, gives an interesting account of it.[80] His companions, who were acquainted with the country, told him that there was here a mart for cinnamon and similar merchandise, which was conveyed to the Assyrians, that is, to Babylon. They added, that the district around the Cape was sterile and uninhabited. Here it is worthy of remark, that the above-mentioned city of Tur,[81] in Oman, was very near Cape Makae. Without building much upon the evidence of names, we may, however, believe, as we have historical accounts to confirm the idea, that this Tur was a Phœnician colony, and the staple for the spice trade mentioned by Nearchus.

An emporium like this, at the entrance of the Gulf, naturally leads us to suppose a more distant navigation, and strengthens our idea of an ancient Indian trade from the Persian Gulf.

Amongst the commodities which Tyre received by the Persian Gulf may be enumerated ivory, ebony, and cinnamon.[82] It is true, that the two first are no less natural to

[79] THEOPHRAST. l. c. PLIN. xvi. 41.
[80] ARRIAN, *Ind. Op.* p. 190.
[81] See above, p. 437.
[82] EZEK. xxxvii. 15.

Ethiopia than India;[83] but it is contrary to all probability, that the natives of the eastern coast of Arabia should have imported them from Ethiopia, when India was so much nearer and more convenient for trade.

A more important and difficult question is that concerning the native country of cinnamon, (cinnamomum,) which was so much sought after, and so highly valued by the ancients.[84]

The researches of modern naturalists have sufficiently proved, that at the present day cinnamon is found in the East Indies alone. Its principal country is Ceylon, from whence we obtain the best; yet it is not confined to Ceylon, but is also found on the coasts of the Deccan and in the East Indian islands; no where, however, in Africa or Arabia.[85] Some of the later Greek geographers, indeed, amongst whom Strabo may be reckoned, speak of cinnamon as a production of Arabia;[86] but as no one of them speaks as an eye-witness, it is more than probable that they were deceived by the circumstance of cinnamon being obtained through the medium of Arabia. We may add to the investigations of other writers[87] on this point, that the two oldest authors who have mentioned cinnamon, Jeremiah and Herodotus, express themselves in a manner tending to confirm our notion of its Indian origin. "To what purpose," it is said in Jeremiah,[88] "cometh there to me incense from Sheba, and the sweet cane from a far country." If the prophet, with the later geographers, had considered Arabia Felix to be its native country, he would not have made this distinction. The same is clear from Herodotus. He had been told by the Phœnicians that cinnamon was brought through Arabia; but they would not, or could not, inform him where it was found, or what country produced it. All he could discover was, that it came from the country in which Bacchus was educated.[89] The mystery thus thrown over this commerce, proves sufficiently that

[83] HEROD. iii. 114.

[84] Cinnamon is the bark of the Laurus Cinnamomum, a tree of moderate height and magnitude, and the Laurus Cassia (probably a variety of the other, producing however a coarser sort). See, concerning this spice, THUNBERG, *Anmerkungen über den Zimmet, auf Ceylon gemacht, in den Neuen Abhandlungen der Schwed. Akad.*, (Observations on the cinnamon grown at Ceylon, in the new treatises of the Swedish academy,) vol. i. p. 53.

[85] THUNBERG, l. c. [86] STRAB. p. 1124.

[87] BECKMANN. *ad Antig.* p. 86. [88] JEREM. vi. 20. [89] HEROD. iii. 111.

its former possessors were no less anxious to conceal it from the rest of the world, than the Dutch have been in more modern times.

It was not however possible to keep it entirely secret; and the father of history has the glory of having first discovered traces of it, leading to the Indian peninsula and Ceylon.

Herodotus, in speaking of the native country of cinnamon, adds to his account a fabulous tradition. He had been told that a species of large birds brought the cinnamon, and carried it to their nests, from whence it was taken by a stratagem which he describes. This tradition of cinnamon birds prevailed throughout antiquity, and is found under a variety of modifications in several even of the most credible ancient writers;[90] for we cannot be surprised that they had every one their own version of the story. Nay, this very tradition which Herodotus related after the Phœnicians, more than two thousand years ago, was heard in Ceylon[91] itself, by a modern writer of the greatest fidelity, to whom we are indebted for our best information as to the manner of obtaining cinnamon. "The inhabitants of this island maintain," says Thunberg, "that good cinnamon must always grow wild. The propagation of the trees, however, takes place in the following manner. Magpies eat the berries when ripe, but do not digest the stones, which they sow here and there in the woods. On which account these birds are preserved, no one being allowed to shoot them." The same has been related of pigeons.[92] Similar to this is the fact of the English having shot a pigeon at Tanna with a nutmeg in its beak.

Another valuable commodity was obtained from Ceylon in these distant ages, that is to say, pearls. Of this we can have no doubt, because we read of Indian pearl fisheries as well as those of the Persian Gulf. Nearchus, when he mentions the latter of these, adds the following observation:[93] "Pearls are fished up here as well as in the Indian Sea." Now it is generally known, that the most considerable pearl fishery is on the south-eastern coast of the peninsula, this side of the Ganges, between Ceylon and Cape

[90] Beckmann. *ad Antig. de Mirabil.* [91] Thunberg, l. c.
[92] Forster, *Voyage Round the World*, ii. p. 332.
[93] Arrian, *Ind. Op.* p. 194. It is even said in another place, that according to the traditions of the Indians, Hercules had established this fishery. Would not this seem to imply the participation of the Phœnicians?

Comorin. Hence a connexion between these countries and Babylon is sufficiently proved.

Lastly: the ancient name also of Ceylon, Taprobane, was known very early, and was even brought to Greece as a very remarkable one by the followers of Alexander; and the oldest traditions concerning it have exactly that obscurity which usually involves the most distant countries on the extremities of the known world.[94] Accordingly it was long undetermined, whether Taprobane was an island or a large continent, upon which the antipodes were to be sought. And even the discoveries made by the followers of Alexander appear to have afforded but little more light, as is manifest from Strabo, who drew his information from them. This is however very different in Ptolemy.[95] He has, it must be confessed, made false representations (probably borrowed from his predecessors) concerning the magnitude of the island; since he makes it extend from 12° 30′ N. L. to 3° S. L. But he is acquainted with its real figure and the direction in which it lies; its coasts, cities, rivers, and harbours; and even its ancient capital Maagrammum, in the situation of the present Candi. There was certainly a time in antiquity when Ceylon was quite as well known as it was under the dominion of the Dutch; and we may here repeat a question which has been started before, in regard to the interior of Arabia:[96] viz. whether this was not the age of the Phœnicians, and whether Ptolemy did not obtain his information from Tyrian sources. If we could assume this, how vast a commerce must there not have existed between the Phœnicians and Indians!

But without such a supposition, it is sufficiently made out, that the principal direction of the maritime Indian trade was to Ceylon and the neighbouring coast of Hindustan. We now naturally ask, who they were by whom this commerce was carried on; whether the Indians sailed to the Persian Gulf, or whether the inhabitants of the latter brought away the Indian commodities themselves. In my own opinion, the previous statements have sufficiently established the fact of the last of these having been the case, considering that the Chaldeans and Phœnicians had a joint participation in this trade. "The men of Dedan were thy

[94] See PLIN. vi. 22. [95] PTOLEM. vii. 4. [96] See above, p. 360.

merchants, and went to extensive countries, who gave them in exchange for thy wares, horn, ivory, and ebony."[97] The identity of these countries with those of India would be rendered probable by their geography; but the Indian commodities which are mentioned turn this probability into certainty. This remarkable passage, however, informs us of the nature of this trade, as well as of its course. The men of Daden, viz. the inhabitants of the islands in the bay of Gerrha, sail to India with Phœnician wares, which they exchange for Indian; after this they bring the fruits of their traffic to their own country, and then form, on the neighbouring Arabian shores, near Gerrha, those caravans from Daden mentioned by Isaiah,[98] which travelled through the Arabian desert to Babylon, or to the maritime cities of Phœnicia.

Putting together what has been said thus far, we shall have the following general results:

First. We can entertain no doubt of a considerable navigation on the Persian Gulf, not, however, limited to that sea, but extending to large and distant countries, before the age of the Persian empire.

Secondly. The principal places to which this navigation was directed were Ceylon and the western coasts of the Indian peninsula, on this side the Ganges. Here was situated, not far from the mouth of the Indus, the port Crocola, where Nearchus embarked. It is undoubtedly the modern Kurachi, which now carries on a considerable commerce, adjoining a city of thirteen thousand inhabitants;[99] and it is extremely probable that Barygaza likewise, (now Beroach,) though coming under our notice somewhat later, was in these early times a port of some consequence. The proximity of these countries would favour the voyage, which was still more facilitated by the periodical winds, which at regular intervals of half a year conducted ships thither, and brought them back.

Thirdly. This navigation was perhaps much less applied to by the Babylonians that by the Phœnicians, who had settlements on the eastern coast of Arabia, and in the neighbouring Bahrein islands, where they were supplied with timber for ship-building; it was also carried on by the Arabians, who became very early a navigating people, and

[97] Ezekiel, xxvii. 15. [98] Isaiah, xxi. 13.
[99] Pottinger, *Travels*, p. 333, 342.

conveyed the commodities which they had imported from India, to Babylon and the Phœnician commercial cities, from whence they were communicated to all parts of the world.

Lastly. The objects of this trade were Arabian frankincense, Indian spices, especially cinnamon from Ceylon, ivory, ebony, precious stones, and Persian and Indian pearls. These are, at least, the wares mentioned by historians; yet we cannot doubt, from our want of a complete catalogue, that there are many articles omitted, which used to be offered to strangers who came to the several countries, and upon which they set a considerable value.

Under the Persian empire, however, the navigation of the Persian Gulf had many difficulties to contend with. The Persians, who were not themselves a navigating people, had great apprehension of their provinces being suddenly attacked and laid waste by some foreign fleet or other.[100] When we consider the situation of their principal cities, this will appear any thing but a groundless fear. Not only Babylon, but Susa, the metropolis of their empire, and the depôt for tribute collected from many nations, were both situated on large and navigable rivers, which afforded foreign fleets an easy access into the heart of their dominion; Babylon on the Euphrates, and Susa on the Choaspes, which is connected with the Tigris by a canal.[1] No great naval power, in the modern sense of the term, would be requisite for such an attempt, but only some squadrons of daring pirates, resembling the Normans of the middle ages, a description of people which has never been wanting in the Persian Gulf. What could the Persians on the moment have opposed to such a fleet? Their principal cities would inevitably have been plundered and destroyed; nay, it is not going too far to suppose the utter abolition of their empire.

In order to prevent such a misfortune, they determined to make the entrance of the principal stream, viz. the Tigris, through which ships passed to the Choaspes, entirely inaccessible for navigation; and the expense and trouble which they bestowed upon accomplishing this design, clearly shows how much the danger of a foreign invasion had alarmed their fears. At certain distances one after the other they interrupted the course of the stream by masses of stone,

[100] STRAB. p. 1075.

[1] ARRIAN, vii. 7.

which, as the waves passed over them, formed cascades more or less elevated. Alexander, who considered nothing of greater importance than the furtherance of trade and navigation, caused these obstructions to be removed, on his return from India.[2] But his premature death prevented the completion of this design, and one of these has probably remained to our time. "One day's journey below Mosul," says Tavernier,[3] "our bark stuck against a dam, across the Tigris from one side to the other. It is two hundred feet broad, and forms a cascade twenty feet high; being constructed of large stones, which by the lapse of time are become as hard as a rock. The Arabians assert that Alexander the Great ordered it to be made, to conduct the stream; others maintain, that Darius endeavoured by this means to prevent Alexander from penetrating by the river into his dominions." The monument certainly deserves a more accurate investigation, were it only on account of ancient Persian architecture; for it is not at all probable that a dam should have been made so far up the river.[4]

Here, then, we may seek for the reason of the great decline of the Persian Gulf navigation in the time of Alexander. It was a result of the Persian policy; and hence it would be very hasty to decide, in conformity with this, as to the antecedent period, when the Babylonico-Chaldean power was at its height. A people who, like the Persians, are not themselves navigators, would be inclined to attach but little value to maritime trade in general. Moreover, the dams of which we have been speaking were no detriment to the navigation of the Euphrates; and although the maritime commerce of Babylon may have been much reduced under the Persian dominion, it certainly was not put a stop to altogether.

[2] STRAB. l. c. If I dared to oppose evidence so definite as that of Strabo, I should conjecture, with great probability, that these dams were made to restrain the river, and to prevent an inundation.

[3] TAVERNIER, i. p. 185.

[4] They extended, however, as far as Opis, which, as an important commercial town, it was of great consequence to defend from any attack.

END OF VOL. I.

JOHN CHILDS AND SON, BUNGAY.

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